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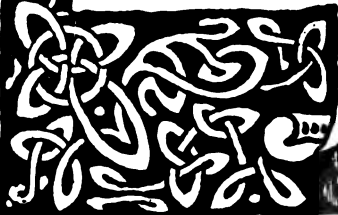
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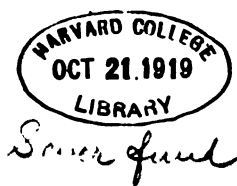
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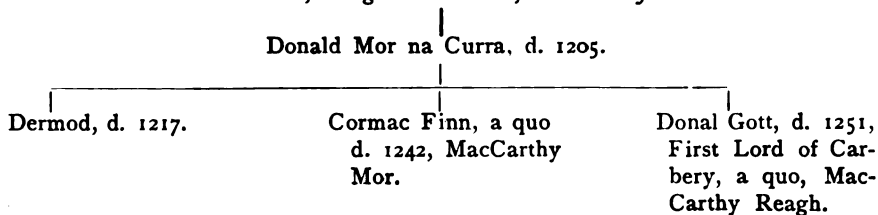
The Barony of Carbery.

BY PROF. W. F. T. BUTLER, M.A., F.R.U.I.



IN articles published in the "Journal of the Cork Archæological Society" in previous years I have given an account of the various portions of Cork and Kerry over which the last MacCarthy Mór, and first Earl of Clancarty, exercised or claimed dominion until his death in 1596. There still remains, however, another district of no inconsiderable extent, ruled over by a younger branch of the MacCarthy clan, which had broken off all connection with the parent house—the land, namely, of Carbery, the lordship of MacCarthy Reagh,⁽¹⁾ For this territory our means of information are unusually copious. Its position along the coast nearest to Spain, from the Bandon river to Bantry Bay, and the many excellent

⁽¹⁾ Dermot, King of Desmond, killed 1185.



harbours it contained, made it a particular object of attention to the authorities at Cork, even before the Spanish invasion of 1601 turned upon it all eyes. The doings of the tanist, Florence, fill many pages of the state papers, while he himself has left no inconsiderable amount of writings from which much knowledge can be gleaned.

But more important for our purposes are a note made by Carew in 1599 of all the subdivisions of the country, their extent, and the clans that inhabited them,^(a) and a long inquisition taken in 1636, on the death of Donal, or Daniel, MacCarthy Reagh, showing what his rights were over them all. We have also valuable sources of information in various inquisitions relating to the O'Driscolls, published in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, in the appendix to the tract on *Corca Laidhe*; while O'Donovan, in the appendix to his edition of the "Four Masters," gives copious details as to the clan from which he was sprung, and quotes in full the grants of James I. to O'Donovan of Clan Cahil, and O'Donovan of Clan Loughlin.

These latter documents, it will be noticed, refer to a time later than the Tudor period; but they represent a settlement made at the close of that period, and are especially valuable as illustrating the process by which an Irish country was transformed into part of an English shire, and an independent native chief into a great landowner, much restricted as to his old prerogatives, but fully secured in those rights that were left to him. For the actual Tudor period the note in the Carew Calendar will suffice.

There is one fact which deserves notice, before I proceed to my subject. In the various inquisitions to which I have referred the names of an immense number of townlands are given. The vast majority of these names can be at once identified to-day in the large maps of the Ordnance Survey. Probably still more would be recognized by a person acquainted with the Irish language, as, of course, many place names in Ireland have been changed from the Irish form to its English equivalent. But even without this help, I have been able in one district—the land of the O'Crowleys, in the parishes of Kinneigh and Fanlobbus, to identify nineteen townlands, out of twenty-three given in the inquisition of 1636. This is most remarkable, when we consider the almost complete change of ownership and of language which has taken place since that date. By the aid of the names in the ancient inquisitions and the modern maps, I have been able to fix, sometimes accurately, sometimes approximately, the boundaries of the different clans in the ancient principality of Carbery.

This land of MacCarthy Reagh's was much subdivided amongst

(a) This is found in the Carew Calendar, 1599, p. 351.

various branches of the MacCarthys, and several dependent clans—O'Donovans, O'Mahonys, O'Driscolls, and others. This subdivision was the consequence of the disturbed history of Carbery. Before the English invasion the O'Mahonys, who lived north and east of the Bandon river, had begun to make conquests at the expense of the group of clans of which the O'Driscolls were the chief,⁽³⁾ and which then held almost the whole district from Kinsale to the western extremity of Bere. Then came the English or Norman invaders, who drove the O'Mahonys towards the west, while the O'Sullivans expelled from Tipperary, and the O'Donovans and O'Collinses from Limerick, conquered new homes for themselves, the one in Bere and Bantry, the others round the river Ilen. The Normans, in the meantime, advancing along the sea coast, built castles in all the most favourable points, from Cork harbour round to Dunkerron on the Kennare river. The O'Donovans, at first, were helped by the O'Mahonys to win lands at the expense of the O'Driscolls; but they afterwards quarrelled, for Crom O'Donovan was slain by O'Mahony near Iniskeen in 1254.⁽⁴⁾ The ruling house of MacCarthy had also been driven from their lands in Tipperary, and their royal fortresses in and near Cork; and had taken refuge in the fastnesses of Kerry. One of the MacCarthy princes, Donal Gott, forced his elder brother, Cormac Finn, to yield to him, in full sovereignty, the south-eastern part of the territories still left to the native rulers; and, perhaps aided by the O'Donovans, completely broke the power of the O'Mahonys in 1232, killing the three sons of O'Mahony.⁽⁵⁾ As the chief vassal clan in his new dominions was now the O'Donovans, their tribe name, *Ui Cairbré*, was applied to this district, and in course of time superseded the older name of *Corca Laidhe*.

We must not suppose that at this time the country which thus took the name of Carbery was at all equal in extent to the present barony of that name. Taking advantage of the feuds of the natives, the Norman settlers had got a firm grip of the whole coast. Timoleague, Clonakilty, and Ross were walled towns; while, further to the west, they erected numerous castles. The official English view in Tudor times was, that all the Irish of Cork and Kerry, who preserved any vestige of independence, were driven into the valley of Glanarought, in Kerry; where they lived miserably on "white meats," till the dissensions of the English, during the Wars of the Roses, gave them the opportunity of recovering their territory. Of course this official version is false: the expulsion of the English from Carbery began in 1260, when the MacCarthys of Carbery at the battle of Callan crushed for a time

(3) *Miscellany of the Celtic Soc.*, p. 141.

(4) O'Donovan, "Four Masters," Appendix, p. 2437.

(5) "Annals of Innisfallen" in *Miscellany of Celtic Soc.*

the English power, and captured all or most of the foreign castles west of Ross. But in the interval from 1232 to 1260 A.D. the power of MacCarthy Reagh must have been confined to the inland country round Dunmanway and Drimoleague; while the O'Driscolls and O'Mahonys of the coast were tenants of the Norman invaders.⁽⁶⁾

The result of all these vicissitudes was that, in Tudor times, the greater part of Carbery was in the hands of the MacCarthys, who had recovered it from the English. Next to them in importance were the O'Donovans, who had conquered and held several castles on the sea coast. The O'Mahonys were split into two branches, situated one at the extreme east, the other at the extreme west of Carbery; while the possessions of the O'Driscolls had shrunk to very narrow limits.

The lands which remained to the O'Driscolls lay along the coast from Castlehaven Harbour to Roaring Water Bay. They had two chief divisions—Collymore under O'Driscoll Mór, Collybeg under O'Driscoll Oge. The boundaries of the former district can be traced very accurately from an inquisition taken in 1609, and given in the Miscellany of the Celtic Society. Starting from a point on the river Ilen a mile or two below Skibbereen, the boundary line ran south-east to the sea, which it reached a short distance to the west of Toe Head. On all other sides Collymore was bounded by water. In fact, a large part of this district was made up of the islands Clear, Sherkin, and others, in and round Baltimore bay. The mainland part comprised the parishes of Tullagh and Creagh, and a small part of Castlehaven. Of the 65 ⁽⁷⁾ ploughlands of Collymore 39½ were on the mainland, the rest on the islands. In the time of James the First, more than half the district was in the hands of the chief; the rest was held by various septs of freeholders, who paid chief rents amounting to £18 6s. 7d. These rents were in place of all former Irish exactions. But, in reality, the whole riches of both chief and clansmen came from the sea. The harbour of Baltimore, then as now, was a great fishing centre, frequented by French and Spaniards, as well as by English or Irish. The inquisition above-mentioned gives a long list of the various dues levied by O'Driscoll on all ships and boats ⁽⁸⁾ from a point west of Cape Cleere to Toe Head, as, for example, "Every ship or boat that fisheth there is to pay to the Lord in money 19s. 2d., a barrel of flour, a barrel of salt, a hogshead of beer, and a dish of fish three times a week."

⁽⁶⁾ The Carews, temp. Eliz., declared that the O'Mahonys held Iveagh from them (paper in Herald's College, quoted in notes to Smith's "History of Cork," vol. i. of this "Journal"; and "Pacata Hibernia" for O'Dalys).

⁽⁷⁾ Only 63 ploughlands in Carew's list.

⁽⁸⁾ These dues of O'Driscoll were enormous, and would nowadays seem intolerable.

There were at least six castles in this district, the chief being Dun-na-shad, now Baltimore, and Dun-na-Long, on Inis Sherkin, which between them commanded the entrance to the harbour; while Dun-na-Gall on Ringarogy Island commanded the entrance to the Ilen. Collymore paid of old to the Earls of Desmond eight nobles, or instead, eight beeves; and to MacCarthy Reagh the usual chief rents, duties, etc., which were all compounded for £27 11s. 11½d.⁽⁹⁾

Collybeg lay between the river Ilen and Roaring Water Bay, and corresponded pretty closely to the parish of Aghadown. It contained 34 ploughlands, had at least two castles—Aghadown and Rincolisky, and paid £10 10s. 11d. to MacCarthy Reagh.

There was also a small district called Glanbarraghan in possession of a branch of the O'Driscolls, probably subject to Collymore. There was in it an important castle, now called Castlehaven, commanding the entrance to the bay of that name. This territory had only 5½ ploughlands, and probably ran along the coast from Castlehaven to Collymore. In the time of James I., indeed, some of the townlands on this strip of coast belonged to the O'Donovans of Clan Cahil, but they may have acquired them after the battle of Kinsale, when the owner of Castlehaven lost his lands as a penalty for having joined the Spaniards. The castle itself was given to Touchet, an Englishman, better known as the Earl of Castlehaven, one of the chief leaders of the Catholics in the Confederation of Kilkenny.

Adjoining Glanbarraghan was the country of the O'Donovans. It ran right across Carbery from the sea to the river Mealagh, where this stream divides Carbery from Bantry. This territory contained 131 ploughlands,⁽¹⁰⁾ and included the modern parishes of Drimoleague, Drinagh, Myross, and Kilfaunaghbeg, with large portions of Kilmacabea, Ross, and Kilmeen, as well as some parts of Castlehaven and Caheragh.

There were two main divisions of the O'Donovans—Clan Cahil and Clan Loughlin; but their territories were so interlaced that it is not easy to give the exact divisions between them. The 67 ploughlands of Clan Cahil lay to the north and west, with practically the whole parishes of Drimoleague, Drinagh, and Myross; Clan Loughlin, with its 54 ploughlands, lay to the east of Glandore Harbour.

On the coast the lands of the O'Donovans ran from Castletownsend to the Roury river, near Ross. The lord of Clan Cahil had dues in all the havens of this district from the head of Glandore Harbour westwards; those of the east side of Glandore Harbour belonged to the lord of Clan Loughlin. Clan Cahil, according to the inquisition of 1636,

(9) The Inquisition specifies the various sums which made up this total.

(10) According to Carew Calendar in 1599. The numbers differ slightly for all these territories in the various documents.

paid only £5 6s. od. and two-thirds of a "drachma" a year to MacCarthy Reagh, as well as "a poundage hog," i.e., one pig from every herd of swine of five or more animals. Clan Loughlin, on the other hand, paid £27 1s. 9½d. yearly, besides poundage hogs. Perhaps Clan Cahil paid such a small rent because the O'Donovans had aided the MacCarthys to make their first settlements in Carbery; or perhaps because when the lands were divided some time after 1254 between Cathal and Loughlin O'Donovan, the division was so made that the lands that were exempt from contributions were allotted to the senior line. ⁽¹¹⁾

Besides the main divisions of Clan Cahil and Clan Loughlin, the O'Donovans possessed a small district called Glan-i-Vollen, which, according to O'Donovan, in his appendix to the "Four Masters," corresponded to the present parish of Kilmeen. The grant to O'Donovan of Clan Loughlin, given in the above-mentioned appendix, includes the greater part of this parish; so probably this district was held by a branch of Clan Loughlin. It contained 12 ploughlands. ⁽¹²⁾

The O'Donovans do not seem to have had the same taste for castle-building as the other clans of Carbery. I can find only mention of two in Clan Cahil, Castle Donovan and Raheen; the latter on Castlehaven Harbour. In Clan Loughlin was Glandore, captured by the Irish from the Barretts. ⁽¹³⁾ Smith declares that Banduff Castle, near Rosscarbery, was built by the O'Donovans, but Carew and all other authorities, give it as one of the castles of MacCarthy Reagh.

The O'Donovans came particularly well out of the troubles of Elizabeth's reign. The grants of James I. to the heads of both branches of this clan included chief rents from the O'Mahonys of West Carbery, and from several branches of the MacCarthys, such as Clan Crimin in the east and Clan Teige Roe in the west. In particular, the castle of Castle Derry and some adjoining lands in Clan Crimin were given to the lord of Clan Loughlin; but O'Donovan, who quotes the patent, gives no explanation of this circumstance.

West of the O'Donovans were several branches of the MacCarthys, the chief being Clan Dermot, Clan Teige Roe, and Clan Teige Ilen. The lands of this last, a small district of 27 ploughlands, were on both sides of the river Ilen, round Skibbereen. This latter place itself, however, with the detached part of the parish of Creagh, in which it stands, belonged to MacCarthy Reagh, who had a castle here called

⁽¹¹⁾ The tributes, duties, etc., of the Overlords were attached to the land, not to the occupiers. This is evident from O'Brien's and MacNamara's Rent Rolls, as well as from the inquisition of 1636.

⁽¹²⁾ Cal. Carew MSS.

⁽¹³⁾ O'Donovan, in Appendix to "Four Masters."

Gortnaclogh. Two or three miles due East he had another castle, Letterinlis, ⁽¹⁴⁾ and the district round and between the two castles formed part of his demesne land.

This detached piece of MacCarthy Reagh's demesne gave a very irregular outline to the lands of Clan Teige Ilen; ⁽¹⁵⁾ but the district occupied by the MacCarthys of Clan Dermot was still more straggling in its shape.

From a comparison of the names of the townlands in the inquisition of 1636 with the names on the modern ordnance maps, it would seem that Clan Dermot included the whole parish of Kilcoe, at the head of Roaring Water Bay, and west of Collybeg. From this parish it ran eastward, being bounded on the south by Clan Teige Ilen. The greater part of the southern portion of Caheragh was thus in this territory. East of the Ilen, it included the detached portion of Caheragh, and a considerable district in Castlehaven, as well as some townlands in Kilmacabea, so that it almost reached to the sea again at the head of Glandore Harbour. Unless we suppose that the lands of this clan were in two detached portions, their country must have included the northern part of Abbeystrowry parish, but the names in the inquisition throw no light on this. Thus the Clan Dermot had as boundaries to the east the country of the O'Donovans, and to the south O'Driscoll Oge, Clan Teige Ilen, and MacCarthy Reagh's demesne round Letterinlis.

Two castles in this district figure largely in the operations before and after the battle of Kinsale, namely, Kilcoe and Cloghan. The Ordnance maps show the former, on an islet at the head of Roaring Water Bay; the latter has been identified by Mr. Gillman as standing near the river Ilen. ⁽¹⁶⁾ The maps show that there was also a castle in the townland of Ballyouvane, which was part of this territory.

Clan Teige Roe lay west of the Ilen, and north of Clan Dermot, thus including the northern part of Caheragh. The barony of Bantry was its northern boundary. I cannot determine how far it extended to the west. The castles of Skart and Baur Gorm, in the parish of Kilmocomoge, were certainly in this district; that of Coul-na-long, at the head of Dunmanus Bay, belonged, according to Smith, to a branch of the Clan Carthy called Muclagh. There was another castle close to this, on the coast, Rossmore. If the MacCarthys of Clan Teige Roe and of Muclagh were the same, their lands would include the parish of Durrus; if

⁽¹⁴⁾ Smith. Letterinlis, or at any rate the townlands round it, belonged to MacCarthy Reagh when the inquisition so often cited was taken in 1636. *Pacata Hibernia*, however, calls it the property of Conogher, son of Sir Fineen O'Driscoll.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Clan Teige Ilen included most of Abbeystrowry and a few of the southern townlands in Caheragh. They paid £7 1s. 1¼d., besides poundage hogs.

⁽¹⁶⁾ See his article in this "Journal," vol. ii., p. 173.

not, then the north of Caheragh, and the Carbery part of Kilmocomoge, would constitute their territory. Clan Teige Roe had only 18 ploughlands, and paid £4 9s. od. and one-third of a "drachma" to MacCarthy Reagh, while £24 11s. 1½d. were paid by the 63 ploughlands of Clan Dermot.

The lands of this group of septs of the Clan Carthy only touched the sea at three points—at the head of Roaring Water and of Dunmanus bays, and for a mile or two on the shore of Bantry Bay, south-west of the territory of O'Sullivan Bere.

The wild peninsula between Dunmanus and Bantry bays was known as Muintir Bairre, from a branch of the O'Driscoll stock, the O'Bairres, who had held it in early times. In Tudor times this district—the present parish of Kilcroghan—was held by a branch of the great bardic family of O'Daly. This widely scattered clan had lands in Desmond, Muskerry, the Earl of Desmond's country, Thomond, and Clanrickarde, all held by them in virtue of their office as hereditary bards to the chiefs of these countries.⁽¹⁷⁾ It is curious that in Thomond their home of Kinvarra was just such a wild promontory as Muintir Bairré, while in Kerry they seem to have chosen the solitudes of Slieve Luachra as being the fittest dwelling for followers of the poetic art. In Muintir Bairré they had a castle, near which the Ordnance map shows a great enclosure which is styled "O'Daly's bardic school."

In "*Pacata Hibernia*" it is mentioned that the O'Daly was arrested on the march of the English to Dunboy, and committed for trial on a charge of trying to win over some of the Irish troops to the side of the revolted chiefs. No details are given of his fate, but several O'Dalys are given in the list of forfeiting proprietors in 1641, so that probably he was not severely dealt with. It is curious that the inquisition of 1636 makes no mention of any chief rents received by MacCarthy Reagh from the 36 ploughlands of the O'Dalys, unless we are to take the entry *Tuovintirry-dorche* £3 9s. od., as being the attempt of the Cork jurors to spell *Tuath Muintervarry*. Probably, as bards, the O'Dalys held their lands free from all or nearly all duties.

The large peninsula between Dunmanus and Roaring Water bays, known as Ivagh, was held by O'Mahony Fine. A minor sept, the *Sliocht Teige O'Mahony*, had an inland district, containing 36 ploughlands, and lying south of Clan Teige Roe, and west of Clan Dermot.⁽¹⁸⁾

⁽¹⁷⁾In the notes to "*Irish Topographical Poems*" it is stated that all the various branches of the O'Dalys sprang from a family originally settled in Westmeath. There were still O'Dalys, landowners, in Westmeath in Elizabeth's time in Dalton's Country, i.e., the barony of Rathconrath.—*Fiants*, 1590, No. 5432.

⁽¹⁸⁾Some interesting details about these O'Mahonys "of the West" have been given in a former number of this "Journal."

This sept paid yearly £7 8s. 8d. to MacCarthy Reagh, while he got £23 18s. 9½d. from the 105 ploughlands of O'Mahony Fine. The country of these O'Mahonys corresponded to the parishes of Schull and Kilmore. This clan seems to have had a perfect mania for castle building. Almost every headland on the rocky coast of Ivagh was crowned by a castle, many of which still remain in fairly perfect condition.

The inhabitants of all this coast line were given to piracy; ⁽¹⁹⁾ and one at least of these strongholds of the O'Mahonys—Rossbrin—was confiscated in Elizabeth's time for the piracy of its lord. ⁽²⁰⁾

Rossbrin was the first castle of the O'Mahonys on the west side of Roaring Water Bay. Proceeding westward we come to Ardintenant, the residence of the lord, and opposite was another fortress on the island, now called Castle Island. Further on were Leamcon and castles in the townlands of Goleen and Castlemehigan. At the extremity of the peninsula is Three Castle Head, called from the three towers, the ruins of which stand upon it. Finally, on Dunmanus Bay were Dunmanus and Dunbeacon.

(19) See the various conflicts of the O'Driscolls with the city of Waterford, as given in the Miscellany of the Celtic Society.

(20) Smith says it was taken by Sir G. Carew; but from the Cal. State Papers it appears that it was forfeited in the fourth year of Elizabeth (1587, p. 425).

(To be continued.)

The Heiress of Dromana Two Hundred Years ago.⁽¹⁾

BY J. F. FULLER, F.S.A., F.R.I.A.I.



THE romantic incidents of the following narrative will possibly have additional interest from the fact that the heroine became afterwards the grandmother of the elder Pitt. Be this as it may, however, the story furnishes another illustration of the old saw, "Truth is stranger than fiction"; and would form excellent groundwork for a modern three-volume novel.

On the 16th of February, 1662, John FitzGerald of Dromana, Lord of the Decies, by "deed of feoffment," provided that his large estates in county Waterford should go to the husband of his only child, Catherine, who was to marry, with the consent of his feoffees, "any worthy person

(1) By permission of the author, we are enabled to republish this curious narrative, which appeared first in a London magazine.

of the family of FitzGerald, or that should assume the name of FitzGerald." Her mother had died two years previously, but the youthful heiress was already under the control of a stepmother, Helen, daughter of Donogh McCarthy, Lord Clancarty. To make matters still worse, her father died in 1662.

She was an orphan, a mere child of four years of age, enormously wealthy, and, in every sense of the word, a prize worth looking after. She was nearly related to the De la Poers or Powers, her mother being of that house. It was, therefore, soon arranged that Catherine FitzGerald should be placed under the control of the Powers, and ultimately married to her cousin, John Power, afterwards Lord Decies.

Incredible as it may appear, the ceremony was, "in due time," actually performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury; the bridegroom having not then reached the age of eight years, and the bride being twelve years and a half. All was done "with the consent of her then guardian"—not with hers, however, for she had a will of her own even at that early age, and in twenty-one months after the Archbishop had performed the ceremony she asserted it to some purpose by choosing a husband for herself; and on Easter Eve, 1676, she ran away and married again.

The favoured individual was Edward Villiers, son of Viscount Grandison. She was over fourteen when this second matrimonial venture was entered on; and as legal points turned upon the question of age, doubtless she was "advised" in the matter, or Villiers was, by some gentleman of the "long robe."

The prize was too large to be let go by default; consequently the De la Poers, as might be expected, soon showed fight, and the two families took action with a view to determine legally whose wife the lady really was, and the more important issue that hung upon the point, namely, which family, Power or Villiers, should possess the large territorial property of FitzGerald of Dromana.

Sentiment was out of the question, for even what is usually understood by the term, "calf-love," could hardly have existed at the date of the first marriage. It was, therefore, a mere matter-of-fact contest for the possession of £ s. d.

It may be safely presumed, however, from our knowledge of human nature, that public sympathy was altogether with the youthful bride, who declared that "she had been seduced thereto (into the first marriage) by threats, violent persuasions, and undue practices, contrary to her own will and spontaneous inclinations," as indeed we can well believe.

The case came before the Court of Arches, which, after hearing arguments on both sides, took the side of the Archbishop, decided in favour of John Power, issued an inhibition, and declared "the marriage

had with Edward Villiers to be no marriage, the said Power being then alive."

At this stage Dudley Loftus, LL.D., Judge of the Prerogative Court in Ireland, came to the rescue in support of the Court of Arches. He was great-grandson of the celebrated Archbishop of Armagh, and his name alone, to say nothing of his personal influence, was a tower of strength to the Power faction. He was a very remarkable man. Having graduated first in Dublin University (of which his ancestor was first Provost), he went to Oxford. On his return to Ireland rebellion had broken out, and he took command of the garrison in his father's castle at Rathfarnham, by which he was enabled to cut off the incursions of the Irish from the mountains, on the city of Dublin. He held subsequently the office of Deputy Judge-Advocate for Leinster; he was Commissioner of the Revenue, Judge of the Admiralty, Master in Chancery, and Vicar-General of Ireland. In 1677 his pamphlet appeared in London, but without a printer's or publisher's name. It is dated October 30, 1676, and is introduced by R. P., in an "Epistle Dedicatory to Arthur, Earl of Anglesey, Lord Keeper of His Majesty's Privy Seal, etc., etc." This nobleman was the first earl, one of the three Commissioners appointed to govern Ireland, and a Privy Councillor, and was also grandfather of the boy husband. As for R. P.'s opinion of the merits of Dr. Loftus, suffice it to say that the words which Aulus Gellius applied to Sallust—*exquisitissimus est brevitatis artifex*—are but feeble as applied to the work and the man whom he undertook to champion. There is a certain comic element here, to be found in the fact of the obscurity of this R. P., who gives this inflated letter of recommendation to such a man as Dudley Loftus.

R. P. goes on to say that he does not "present unto her (Catherine Fitzgerald) objects of terror, to frighten her with guilty apprehensions, or to tax her with the polluted mystery of a matrimonial bed, or the stain of unchaste extravagancies, or to convene her before the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth, who is so formidable to the sense of guilt; or to upbraid her with the inevitable consequences of her ruin, which will ensue on her temerity without repentance; but to satisfy the whole world in the justice and reason of the Lord Decies his case, etc., etc." The reader is further informed how the performance "clears the text from the disparagement of vain cavils, the misinterpretations of impertinent glosses, and confutes the Lord Cooke, not only by the incompetency of his authority, being neither judge of, nor versed in matrimonial causes, but also by the inevitable deductions from his mistaken positions." This is hard hitting, and would, in these polite days, result in bringing R. P. into contempt of Court. Finally, he gives it as his opinion, that after perusal of Dr. Loftus's treatise, "judgment cannot be given in

favour of Mr. Villiers without a manifest decadency from ancient practice, and deviation from all known rules of justice, whereby it is hoped that the lady, upon consideration and reflection on the many prejudices of her seduction hitherto, and the conviction of this argument, will be reduced to the modest acknowledgment of her fault."

But the young lady did not see the force of the arguments put forth by Dr. Loftus, and obstinately refused to forsake Villiers and return to Power, who was then a languishing and presumably broken-hearted husband of the mature age of ten years and some months—the faithless one being just on the verge of her "teens."

The age of the more favoured husband I am unable to obtain, but as he was a cornet of horse in 1671, five years previous to his marriage, it may be presumed that he was at least twenty. When once Catherine FitzGerald caught the "scarlet fever," it might have been guessed that John Power, Lord Decies, had an uphill fight of it, and must have been cruelly handicapped, no matter how the law went. To a young lady of thirteen, who had doubtless learned to value herself highly from the estimation in which she was held by others and the fuss that was made about her, a strapping young cavalry officer, whose fine trappings and uniform she could see and admire, was better worth having than a mere boy in civilian dress. In any case, even if at such an age she was worldly-wise enough to weigh the advantages of a title (as they actually said she did), or "notions" had been put into her head about peerages and what not, Villiers still had the advantage. If John Power, aged ten, was to be Lord Tyrone, Edward Villiers would be Lord Grandison, to say nothing of his gay uniform.

Notwithstanding the tall talk of R. P., another LL.D. from across the Channel entered the lists against Loftus.

But first we must state the latter's case as briefly as possible, for the satisfaction of readers learned in the law. The paragraph may be skipped by the general public.

The question was, "Whether and when those who contract marriage may depart therefrom by reclamation." Answer, "That either such contract hath already passed into marriage or in *vim matrimonii de præsenti*, either by present consent or by carnal knowledge subsequent, in which case there is no departure therefrom by way of reclamation. Or such contract hath not as yet passed in *vim matrimonii de præsenti*, and then first both parties are of age of consent, to wit, the man hath attained the age of fourteen years; or secondly, both of them are under those respective ages; or thirdly, the one of them hath attained that age and not the other. In the first case of this tripartite sub-distinction, where both parties are at age of consent, the one party cannot lawfully depart from the contract without the consent of both. In the second

case of the said distinction, to wit, both being under age at the time of contract; it is to be understood whether both or one only of them will reclaim before either of them attain to the competent age of marriage; and I conceive they cannot, whether they be equally distant from the said competent age (as, for example, she is twelve years old and he ten, or unequally distant, he being thirteen and she ten); or whether both or either of them will reclaim after the arrival of both at competent age as aforesaid: and at this time, arriving together at competent age, they may reclaim as when, at the time of the contract of marriage, they were both equally distant from the age competent at a different time, when one arrived at the age before the other, having been unequally distant from a competent age of plenary consent at the time of the contract; or both or either of them reclaims some time after the accomplishment of years competent for marriage, and then they cannot, whether both of them arrive thereto at the same time or at divers times; as when the man was thirteen years of age and the woman ten, the man being by the revolution of a year arrived at that competent age aforesaid, who then may reclaim or thank himself for the loss of that benefit; so that when they are of different ages from the time of plenary consent, it is in the pleasure of the party who first comes to age to dissolve the contract by reclamation, which if he shall not then do this power is devolved to that party who shall be then under age. As to the third case, where one of them hath attained the age of plenary consent at the time of the contract and not the other, the party that hath so attained that age at the time of the contract may not reclaim; but the party who was then under that age and now hath attained it may make reclamation. So when one of age contracts with one under age, the contract is immediately good as to both, and each of them bound to expect, until the younger come of age, who if he then make reclamation the contract of marriage is dissolved; but if he shall not reclaim, they shall be compelled by the Church to prosecute the contract."

Here we pause to take breath, having, in fact, at this stage, become "a little mixed." Suffice it to say that the "summing up is to the full satisfaction of all persons," says the Doctor, "whose interests will give them leave to comply with reason and authority."

It is to be presumed that Mistress Catherine was more agreeably employed than in "bothering" her young head about a legal opinion as to what ought to be the state of her heart and of her conscience; and it is more than probable that her resolution to be the wife of Cornet Villiers was not influenced in the slightest degree either by Loftus or by the arguments in her favour.

On April 21, 1677, appeared the reply to Loftus by Robert Thompson, LL.D., an Englishman, possibly a relative of the Lord Anglesea to

whom R. P. addressed the argument by Dr. Loftus; for it is on record that Arthur, fifth Earl, married Mary, daughter of John Thompson, Lord Haversham, and also that Lord Haversham married Frances, daughter of the Lord Anglesea to whom R. P. wrote. However, the point is not of importance as far as Catherine FitzGerald's history is concerned. His "Epistle Dedicatory" is to her second father-in-law, George, Lord Grandison, and undoubtedly he hits hard.

"It cannot be unknown unto your Lordships by what unusual means the adverse party have proceeded in the management of their design. How that after a diffinitive, judicially pronounced, upon a deliberate debate on both sides, printed papers have been dispersed both to arraign the judgment given and, if possible, to anticipate a second judgment, with prejudices and undue aspersions; some of the Judges Delegates have been solicited with discourses and foreign consultations upon the fact (if not purposely mistaken), much misrepresented; the lady and those concerned for her, amused and terrified with the daily noise and talk of an unanswerable Doctor's resolution from beyond seas, and the resolution itself at length ushered into the world as the irrefragable conclusion of a person whose place and abilities, together with the transcendent eulogies of his voucher, must of themselves give it the authority of truth. . . . But in answer, and for the satisfaction of some few who unwarily may be imposed upon, I have endeavoured to attaque this invincible Armada from beyond sea, and how unsuitable the epithete is to the thing, my success will, I hope, discover."

He is quite as obscure in his reply to what he politely calls the "jargon" of Dr. Loftus as Loftus himself, at least to the ordinary and non-legal mind; and one is therefore quite as liable to get "mixed" in reading him. He winds up as follows: "The promise or contract between the lady and the Lord Decies being but a contract *de futuro*, and dissolved by absolute contract of marriage *de præsenti*, consummated with Edward Villiers, the rule of *factum valet* holds good, and priority of promise must give place to posteriority of contract, notwithstanding the statute first Elizabeth stands unrepealed."

Here, with a sigh of relief, we dismiss the lawyers, without even knowing what this statute first Elizabeth which then stood, and perhaps now stands unrepealed, was all about. Suffice it to say that after subsequent appeals to higher tribunals, the judgment of the Court of Arches and the Archbishop's marriage ceremony were set aside, and Catherine FitzGerald became legally Mrs. Villiers, very much, we are sure, to her own satisfaction and that of the House of Villiers.

Edward Villiers and his young and well-dowered wife were of course welcomed at Court. He was made lieutenant-colonel of the First Troop of Horse Guards, whence he was promoted by the Merry Monarch to the

Queen's Regiment of Horse, and to the post of brigadier-general. On the 21st of August, 1680, the King by warrant ordered a confirmation by patent to "Edward FitzGerald, otherwise Villiers, and his heirs by the said Catherine," of all the estates that belonged to her father, and at the same time settled £12,000 upon her. This warrant enabled the husband to charge the estate for the benefit of the younger children to the extent of £2,000 each. It is to be noted that having secured the property of FitzGerald of the Decies by marriage with his daughter, he ignored the wish expressed in her father's will as to the continuation of the old name: this was, to say the least that can be said of it, not handsome.

Edward Villiers died in 1693, in the lifetime of his father, and consequently did not succeed to the title; but in 1699 King William granted to his widow precedence, as though he had actually enjoyed the honours. The property finally went through heiresses to the family of Villiers-Stuart.

The second daughter of Catherine FitzGerald and Edward Villiers, who was named Harriet, married Robert Pitt, by whom she had issue William, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Chatham.

But Catherine did not end her eventful experience of married life with the death of Edward Villiers. She married secondly Lieutenant-General William Stuart, M.P. for Waterford, appointed Commander-in-chief of the Army during Ormond's absence in 1711. It was an extraordinary coincidence that John Power, Lord Decies, should have died (unmarried) in the same year as his more fortunate rival, namely, in 1693.

Richard Power, first Earl of Tyrone, father of the young bridegroom, was also guardian of the bride, and her uncle by the mother's side. Lady Tyrone was Dorothy, a daughter of the Earl of Anglesea; and after the marriage the happy pair were probably sent to the residence of the boy-husband's grandfather for safe-keeping, and were sent upstairs to the nursery in charge of a domestic to spend the honeymoon—as a matter of course. In a deposition by Robert Power, of Lincoln's Inn (the mysterious R. P. previously mentioned), dated May 20, 1678, we learn that he was informed by the Earl of Anglesea how this precocious young wife of twelve went on her knees and begged that her husband might be advanced to the peerage as Viscount Decies—that being an old title in her family. We also learn that she was married at her own request.

Be the deposition as it may, she ran away from the Earl of Anglesea's^(a) house, and into the arms of the young Cornet of Dragoons,

(a) The Earl of Anglesea above-mentioned belonged to a family now extinct. His father, Lord Mount-Norris, is the nobleman whose treatment by Lord Deputy Strafford is mentioned in the 5th Article of the impeachment of the latter.

who had in 1676 to file a bill in the First Court of Chancery to get possession of her lands—she being then sixteen years of age. The Earl of Tyrone filed an answer in 1677, in which he admits the Villiers marriage *de facto non de jure*, and adds that she cohabited with her husband of 1673 (the boy of seven years old), and subscribed her name and took her place as Viscountess Decies until she “clandestinely stole away from the house of the grandfather of Lord Decies.”

The Archbishop who performed the strange marriage ceremony was Gilbert Sheldon, translated from London to Canterbury in 1663. It was performed in Lambeth Chapel by him in May, 1673. He died just after the Court of Arches had declared the marriage legal.

If the facts of this curious and romantic case were not on record and beyond dispute, the story would not easily find credence. Human greed, of course, explains a great deal, and fully accounts for the part taken by the Earl of Tyrone. Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, who lent himself to a transaction, on the face of it so equivocal, was a man very regardless of the common decencies of his station. Buckle tells us, in his “History of Civilization,” that the Archbishop would

Strafford sentenced him to be “deprived of office, disarmed, banished the army, and to be shot to death, or lose his head, at the pleasure of the General.” The charge against him—perhaps the most frivolous ever made—I give in the Lord Deputy’s own words: “That within three or four days, or thereabouts, after the end of the Parliament, it being mentioned at the Lord Chancellor’s table, that after we, the Lord Deputy, had dissolved Parliament, being sitting down in the presence-chamber, one of our servants, in moving a stool, happened to hurt our foot, then indisposed through an accession of gout; that one then present at the Lord Chancellor’s table, said to the Lord Mountnorris, being there likewise, that it was Annesley’s, his lordship’s kinsman, and one of our the Lord Deputy’s gentlemen ushers had done it: whereupon the Lord Mountnorris then publicly, and in a scornful contemptuous manner, answered, “Perhaps it was done in revenge of that public affront which my Lord Deputy had done him formerly; but he has a brother that would not take such a revenge;” which public affront the Lord Deputy thus explains: “That his said kinsman (being one of the horse troop commanded by us, the Lord Deputy), in the time of exercising the said troop, was out of order on horseback, to the disturbance of the rest, then in exercising; for which we, the Lord Deputy, in a mild manner, reproving, as soon as we turned aside from him, we observed him to laugh and jeer us for our just reproof of him; which we disliking, returned to him, and laying a small cane (which we then carried) on his shoulders (yet without any blow or stroke then given him therewith), told him that, if he did serve us so any more, we would lay him over the pate.”

Strafford’s inference is: “We conceive offence to contain an incitement to revenge in these words, ‘but he has a brother that would not take such a revenge’; which incitement might have given encouragement to that brother, being then and now in this kingdom, and lieutenant of the said Lord Mountnorris’s foot company.” The sentence passed by the Lord Deputy was not carried out. Strafford lost his own head, as we all know, soon after.

hold at his house meetings in which the manners of the Presbyterian preachers were imitated and mocked. In these days, no matter what the law may be, it would surely be impossible for the Primate of England to outrage public feeling to such an extent as to marry, in Lambeth Chapel, two child cousins, aged respectively seven and twelve, even to meet the wishes of a powerful nobleman seeking to enrich himself. The fact of the Earl having been guardian of Catherine FitzGerald makes his action the more inexcusable.

St. Brigid's Church, Lough Hyne.⁽¹⁾

• BY ROBERT DAY, F.S.A.



LOUGH HYNE.

WE are indebted to one of our Vice-Presidents, O'Donovan, D.L., for the measurements and photographs taken by

him of the Church of St. Brigid, Lough Hyne. A ruin of so many centuries may, from the effects of any winter's storm, be blown down, wrecked, and its identity lost; hence, all the more importance of placing its dimensions, form, and structure on record, and of shewing it as it now appears after the storm and sunshine of twelve centuries.

Among the many lovely unfrequented and little known places in the county Cork, which will well repay the tourist, there is none more restful, picturesque, and beautiful than the land-locked tidal waters of Lough Hyne and its surroundings. It is situated about four miles west of Castle-

⁽¹⁾Irish, "Loch-dhoimhin."

haven and three miles east of Baltimore, and is formed by the sea, which enters through a narrow creek, and spreads into a sheet of water two miles in circumference, set in an amphitheatre of hills that are richly wooded from water's edge to summit. Close to the eastern side there is a small island on which, when Smith^(a) wrote, there was one of the many castles of the O'Driscolls, so placed to command and protect the entrance into the lake from the sea. In 1870 part of the walls fell, and at present all that remains are the foundations and a portion of the keep. Smith says that the lake abounded with various kinds of sea fish, with salmon and trout, lobsters, crabs, and escallops. It was the breeding-ground



CASTLE OF THE O'DRISCOLLS, LOUGH HYNE.

of the seal, and the bed of a small oyster, which had the peculiarity in summer-time of having instead of a milky juice, a blood-like liquor; this description is, apparently, not authentic, as many years ago when in West Carbery the writer partook of some, which though unusually small, were delicious in flavour, and quite free from the repulsive peculiarity mentioned in Smith's history. On the south-west side of the lake, close to the Rapids, where the waters of the creek join those of the lake, in a sequestered nook about fifty feet above high-water mark, are the ruins of a primitive and early church, called Templeen Breeda, dedicated to Saint Brigid. The walls are of rough unhewn stone, placed together without mortar. These were standing until some twelve of thirteen years ago, when the east wall fell outwards upon the grave-

(a) "History of Cork," Dublin, 1774.



ST. BRIGID'S CHURCH, LOUGH HYNE.
Windows in Southern side, from outside,



ST. BRIGID'S CHURCH, LOUGH HYNE
Windows in Southern side from inside, also Recess in Wall beyond them ; the stones on the left of the figure are remains of the Eastern end.



ST. BRIGID'S CHURCH, LOUGH HYNE.
Door in Northern side.



ST. BRIGID'S CHURCH, LOUGH HYNE.
Showing Door in Northern Wall and Arched Door in Western end.

yard in which the edifice stands. This burial-place has not been used as such for many years, and no tombstone or memorial slab of any kind now mark the place, which is much overgrown by furze and bracken. The inside measurements of the church are 25 feet 5 inches in length, and 12 feet 6 inches wide, having walls 2 feet 6 inches thick, and at the south-eastern end a recess 1 foot 7 inches high by 1 foot 11 inches deep, with a lower window in the same wall 7 inches wide on the outside, and splaying inwards to 18 inches. The church has, in the west end, a low-arched doorway, and in the north another with square head and stone lintel, having recesses in the sides of the jambs for a door, as shewn in the photograph.

Donovan, writing in 1876⁽³⁾ states that the enclosed area of the aisle is covered with rude headstones and flags.

The building is without any trace of road or pathway leading to or from it, and the tradition of the locality is, that it was approached by its worshippers from the water. The walls in their highest part are nine feet, and at the south-west end are much overgrown with briars and blackthorn bushes. Six feet from the present floor the walls are pierced with putlog recesses for supporting the beams of an upper storey.

About fifty yards north-east of the church is portion of a broken pillar-stone, 18 inches high by 15½ inches wide, with an incised cross having a lobe at each end, known in heraldry as a cross pommée. The tradition is, that it marked the resting-place of some saintly person, and is regarded by the people with much veneration. You will be told that, years ago, it was carried off by a sailor to his own house, and on the next morning it was found back again in its old place, shortly after which the sailor was drowned; and although the shaft was wantonly broken, you might hammer away for ever, but the portion on which the cross is sculptured could not be either chipped or injured.

This ancient church is dedicated to one of Ireland's patron saints, and could not have been placed in a more sheltered and secluded site. In many ways it resembles the equally primitive church of St. Fachnan, who founded the Diocese of Ross, and died A.D. 600. His temple is on a knoll adjoining the road from Ross to Glandore, and at its foot is the holy well dedicated to him, from which he doubtless often partook of its clear and cold spring. At Lough Hyne there is also a well, known and resorted to as Tobar-Breeda—St. Brigid's Well—formed by a small natural hollow in the solid rock, on the margin of which are impressions said to have been caused by the saint's knees. These depressions are yearly becoming deeper, by the numerous pilgrims and devotees who come especially on May eve to kneel and worship at its limpid waters, a living emblem of the Divine Redeemer, who was Himself the Fountain of the Water of Life.

(3) "Sketches in Carbery," McGlashan and Gill, Dublin.

Voyage of the "Jamestown."

By JAMES COLEMAN, M.R.S.A.I.



THE Voyage of the 'Jamestown' on her Errand of Mercy," the title of an octavo volume of xxvii—114 pages, printed at Boston, U.S.A., in 1847, is probably one that but to few persons at this side of Atlantic would now convey any special significance; and yet this voyage was none other than that of the American man-of-war, "Jamestown," which, in the dreadful famine-year of 1847, was turned into a peaceful merchant-vessel, loaded with bread-stuffs, and sent over to Cork Harbour, by the people of America, for the relief of the starving Irish population of that day.

So interesting an event in our local annals as was the "Jamestown's" visit deserves a more abiding record than it has hitherto secured; and it has therefore occurred to the writer to present in a somewhat condensed form the abovenamed narrative of this memorable voyage, more especially that portion of it connected with our harbour, which was originally written by Captain R. B. Forbes of the "Jamestown," in the same never-to-be-forgotten year of '47.

When the state of Ireland owing to the failure of the potato-crop, previous and up to the year 1847, was such as to elicit charitable contributions even from the Sultan of Turkey, it was not likely that America would be behind-hand; but what notably enhanced the value of America's gift to Ireland on that occasion was America's grateful recollection that the people of Ireland nearly two hundred years previous had sent relief to the "Pilgrim Fathers" in their time of need; so that, as Mr. Waterston, an American gentleman, then graciously observed: "What we have been doing for famishing Ireland is but a return for what their fathers did for ours."

"I consider the mission of the 'Jamestown,'" the same gentleman wrote to Captain Forbes, "one of the grandest events in the history of our country. A ship of war changed into an angel of mercy, departing on no errand of death, but with the bread of life to an unfortunate and perishing people. She carried with her the best wishes of millions; and it seemed as if Heaven particularly smiled upon you, on your speedy passage out and your safe return."

On February 22nd (Washington's birthday), 1847, certain Boston merchants forwarded a petition to the Honourable Robert C. Winthrop,

asking Congress to lend one of their ships-of-war for the purpose of carrying to Ireland a cargo of provisions; on the 3rd of March, when the attention of every mind in Congress was taken up with the discussion of financial and warlike measures, the people of the United States, be it said to their honour, voted the loan of the frigate "Macedonian" and the sloop of war "Jamestown"; and by a joint resolution of both Houses, the President and Secretary of the Navy were authorised to send these vessels at the expense of the United States, or to put them into the hands of Captains de Kay and Forbes for the benevolent purpose indicated. In view of the fact that there was then "a demand for all the resources of the United States to carry on operations against the public enemy," the Secretary of the Navy chose the latter alternative; and accordingly, under date of the 8th of March, ordered the Commandant of the Naval Station at Charlestown to prepare the "Jamestown" by the removal of her armament, and to deliver her to Captain Forbes.

The "Jamestown" (so called after the first town founded in the United States by English immigrants), was one of the six sloops of war then possessed by the United States; and was built at Norfolk, Virginia, in 1843. Her length was over 157 feet, and tonnage 1,000; and her armament consisted of 22 guns in all. These last having been removed, all but two guns, and the order for the delivery of the "Jamestown" to Captain Forbes having been received on the 11th of March, on the 17th of that month, St. Patrick's Day, the Labourers' Aid Society of Boston, composed principally, if not entirely, of Irishmen, put their hands to the work, and in the course of that day had stowed one-seventh of the cargo; and by the 27th, after an interruption caused by bad weather, the ship was full, drawing nearly 20 feet, and having with her stores, about 8,000 barrels' bulk of provisions, grain, meal, etc., on board.

"On that day," writes Captain Forbes, "I gave a receipt for the ship and her apparel, etc., the officers of the Navy Yard having rigged her while the cargo was being received. Our outfit was very complete, and on Sunday, March 28th, we cast off from the Yard with a fine N.W. breeze, and at three o'clock we had passed the Highlands of Cape Cod, and fairly launched our gallant bark on the broad Atlantic, on a voyage full of hope and pleasure and blessed with the approbation of many kind hearts at home. Our gallant ship, though three feet or more deeper than her usual man-of-war trim, sailed and worked admirably; and after a succession of rainy, dirty weather and variable winds, we cast anchor in the Cork outer harbour on Monday, the 12th April, exactly fifteen days and three hours from the Navy Yard, Charlestown, without having lost a ropeyarn.

"We were very soon visited by Lieutenant Commanding Protheroe of H.M.S. "Crocodile," under Rear-Admiral Sir Hugh Pigot, who came

to inform us that everything would be done in the Admiral's power to expedite the delivery of our cargo and the despatch of the ship on her return to the United States. I accordingly intimated to Mr. Protheroe that we should be glad to have a steamer to take the ship to the Government Warehouses at Haulbowline. Unfortunately, no Government steamer was there at the moment, and we had to wait till Tuesday evening, when the "Geyser" was expected to arrive; but just as we had weighed our anchors in preparation, the "Sabrina" steamer, Captain Parker (from Cork) bound to Bristol, came along. Captain Parker shaved our stern so close as to take off our spanker-boom, and hailing, asked if we wished to be towed up, to which, you may be assured, I



DEPARTURE OF THE "JAMESTOWN" FOR CORK, IRELAND, R. B. FORBES,
COMMANDER. BOSTON, MARCH 28TH, 1847.

replied by a hearty affirmative. The "Sabrina" took us in tow, and about five o'clock placed us near the Government Stores at Haulbowline, opposite the town of Cove, a beautiful harbour indeed."

"Before the anchor had firmly bitten the soil, a deputation of the citizens of Cove,⁽¹⁾ consisting of all creeds and parties, waited on me with an address, and the Cove Temperance Band was on board discoursing sweet music. On Tuesday we had plenty of men from the 'Crocodile' to assist in weighing our anchors, etc, and at night the town of Cove was illuminated, and as we passed up the Harbour in tow of the 'Sabrina' the good people cheered and the ladies waved their muslins in welcome of our arrival.

(1) Mr. Edmond Farrell, of Redington, near Queenstown, is probably the sole survivor of those who boarded the "Jamestown" on her arrival.

"On Wednesday, the 14th, we began to discharge our cargo into the Government Stores without any form of entry or detention otherwise. I called on the United States Consul, noted my protest, and went to Cork in company with that good and great man, Theobald Mathew, and his brother; was by him introduced to the Collector and other gentlemen of note, and had a very warm reception from all.

"On Thursday, the 15th of April, the citizens of Cove invited me to a banquet. On Friday, the 16th, I received a dinner on board the flag-ship 'Crocodile.' On Saturday and Sunday my engagements were of a private nature; and on Monday and Tuesday I had also the pleasure of meeting private parties at Cork and Cove. On the morning of the latter day I visited the Ursuline Convent in company with Father Mathew and Mr. and Mrs. Rathbone of Liverpool. On Monday, the 19th April, I received an invitation to meet the Temperance Institute at Cork, which claims Father Mathew for its parent and president. There, to my surprise, I found that the occasion was one specially made for the expression of gratitude to the American people, as the regular soirees had been omitted in consequence of the distress out of doors. At this meeting Messrs. Atkinson and Scraggs did me the great pleasure of presenting a beautiful likeness of the 'Jamestown,' drawn by the former and lithographed by the latter, just after the 'Sabrina' had cast off the tow-ropes and a few moments before the anchor was dropped at the Government dockyard. On Wednesday, the 21st April, twenty-four days after leaving Boston, the cargo was out, and the ship ready for sea. On that day I was at home to the ladies and gentlemen of Cork and Cove and vicinity by special invitation, from twelve to three, several hundreds of whom came and were entertained on board. I had yet to receive the calls of two deputations from Passage and Monkstown, and from Cork, the latter presenting a banner through me to the City of Boston, and with it a suitable address. Having despatched these gentlemen, I had to go on shore and prepare for my reception of Admiral Sir Hugh Pigot, Lieut. Colonel Crofton, Honorable Mr. Roche, the High Sheriff, and various naval and military gentlemen. Having on Wednesday, the 21st, taken formal leave of the Collector, and made arrangements for the towing of the 'Jamestown' to sea, I had nothing to do but to settle my accounts. This was easily done, for the Admiral had kindly offered to pay all charges which the ship might incur for the prosecution of her mission. On Thursday, April 22nd, at 3 p.m. the 'Jamestown' started for America, in tow of H.M.S. 'Zephyr,' and at 5 discharged her pilot several miles outside Cork Harbour. As we passed Cove the people cheered, the Consul lowered his flag; and as we passed Spike Island, Colonel Crofton mustered his marines and gave us a lot of hearty cheers,

to which we responded and lowered our flag several times. Messrs. Cummins and other friends then bade us farewell."

On Sunday, May 16th, the "Jamestown" came to anchor off the Navy Yard, which she had started from seven weeks before; and thus ended the "Voyage of the 'Jamestown,' to which," concludes Captain Forbes, "I shall ever look back as the happiest event of my life."

The following is the list of provisions brought over in the "Jamestown" in 1847 towards the relief of the famine-stricken Irish people of that time:—

400 barrels of pork, 100 tierces hams, 655 barrels corn-meal, 4,688 bags corn meal, 1,496 bags northern (sic) corn, 1,375 barrels bread, 353 barrels beans, 84 barrels peas, and 800 empty bags. These were supplied by the Boston Committee. From the Charlestown Committee came 50½ barrels flour, 100 barrels rice, 50 barrels corn-meal, 2 barrels bread, 60½ barrels beans, 4 barrels peas, and 4 boxes of clothing; whilst sundry other American towns, individuals, and societies sent 10½ barrels oatmeal, 85 packages potatoes, 547 bags corn, 1 barrel flour, 34 packages rye, 2 packages oats, 3 bags wheat, 1 tierce dried apples, 4 packages beans, 6 boxes fish, 201 packages meal, and 28 packages clothing. The pecuniary value of these charitable gifts was 35,868 dollars, 53 cents, or £7,173 sterling; and the cost of the voyage about £500.

That Captain Forbes had ample evidence of how sadly needed were these provisions, is shown by his description of the gruesome sights he witnessed during his brief stay in Cork. "I went with Father Mathew, only a few steps out of one of the principal streets of Cork into a lane; the Valley of the Shadow of Death was it? Alas! no, it was the valley of death and pestilence itself. I saw enough in five minutes to horrify me; hovels crowded with the sick and dying; without floors, without furniture, and with patches of dirty straw covered with still dirtier shreds and patches of humanity; some called for water to Father Mathew, and others for a dying blessing. From this very small sample of the prevailing destitution, we proceeded to a public soup-kitchen under a shed guarded by police-officers. Here a long boiler containing rice, meal, etc., was at work, while hundreds of spectres stood without, begging for some of the soup which I can readily conceive would be refused by well-bred pigs in America. Every corner of the streets is filled with pale, careworn creatures, the weak leading and supporting the weaker; women assail you at every turn with famished babes imploring alms."

"Among the more pleasing incidents of my voyage and stay of ten days in Ireland," further writes Captain Forbes, "I will allude to the very pretty compliment paid to my countrymen by Mr. O'Connor of Cork, a gentleman who by great industry and honesty in the calling of a merchant tailor, amassed a handsome fortune and erected, in 1845, a

beautiful tower on his estate, five or six miles below Cork, in commemoration of the reception of Theobald Mathew in London in the year 1843. This tower, nearly or quite 100 feet in height, has a circular stairway opening as you ascend into several pretty circular rooms about twelve feet in diameter, where the people of Cork and its vicinity are admitted gratis, and there enjoy one of the finest views I have ever had the good fortune to look upon. But I must not dwell on this and other views about Cork and between it and Cove: they are surpassingly beautiful, and when one looks down on the landscape, teeming, apparently, with life and health and beauty, he cannot help exclaiming, 'Is this the land of famine and pestilence; and if so, why so?' . . . On Wednesday, the 21st, I received a letter from Mr. O'Connor accompanied by a splendid portrait of Father Mathew. I intend to offer to the generous people of New England," adds Captain Forbes, "this portrait of that great Apostle of temperance and humanity, Theobald Mathew, to be displayed in some fitting place in Boston, in trust and in commemoration of the voyage of the 'Jamestown,' and of their liberality in coming to the relief of a sister-land in a time of unprecedented distress."

Although the cargo of provisions brought over by the "Jamestown" was distributed within the limits of the County Cork alone, the complimentary addresses which Captain Forbes received were not confined to the local bodies already enumerated; Dublin, Limerick, Galway, and other parts of Ireland, gratefully paid tribute to the errand of mercy on which that vessel came, whilst addresses were presented also by the Catholic Clergy of Ballinrobe, the Brothers and Pupils of St. Patrick's Monastery, and others besides.

Of a less cheery character were letters such as the following, received from one of the Catholic priests then stationed at Cove, whose death as Dean of Cloyne and parish priest of Mitchelstown, took place but a few years back:—

"Dear Sir—Aware as I am that you have allotted a large amount of food and a sum of £40 for the relief of the poor of Cove, I have no small share of reluctance in obtruding any additional claims in the exercise of your humanity and benevolence.

"I have been informed that you have placed a sum of £200 in the hands of Messrs. Scott for charitable distribution. On behalf of the many victims of fever and extreme penury, I beg, at the instance of some influential residents of Cove, to submit their condition to your charitable consideration. As a Catholic clergyman, on whom devolves the sad and laborious office of administering the rites of the Church to some ten victims of disease every day, of visiting them in their wretched hovels at the peril of my own life, I have opportunities of witnessing scenes of misery which cannot be known or relieved by public committees, however zealous. In fact, within the last month, I have been obliged out of my own small means to furnish coffins to fifteen of our poor



AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT OF FATHER THEOBALD MATHEW.
Taken from an Engraving published in 1848.

people. Mr. G. Scott, who kindly undertakes to present this letter, will furnish you with motives which I trust will justify to you this appeal on behalf of the miserable parishioners, of Dear Sir, your very respectful and grateful servant,

P. D. O'REGAN.

Captain A. B. Forbes."

The public dinner to which Captain Forbes and the officers of the "Jamestown" were invited by the people of Cove, was in itself a notable one; and was held in the Kilmurray's Hotel of that day. The chair was filled by Maurice Power, J.P., afterwards M.P., and Governor of Dominica. At his right sat Captain Forbes, the principal guest of the evening; S. W. French, J.P., Cuskinny; the Hon. Captain Hare, Rev. Mr. Nash, Rector of Cove; J. Murphy, Consul of the United States; N. M. Cummins, J.P.; Dr. Cronin, William J. Coppinger, Ballynoe; Thomas Keane, Shanagarry; R. Hammond, Messrs. McCarthy and Benson, W. M. Drew, J.P.; Philip Scott, J. Hallinan, R. Barry, George Wright (Lloyds' Agent), N. G. Seymour, H.M.C.; and Dr. Orpen, all of Cove. On the left of the Chairman were Edmund Burke Roche, of Trabolgan (afterwards Lord Fermoy); Hon. Robert Hare, Dr. Millet, J.P.; the Rev. P. D. O'Regan, George Scott, Dr. Meade, Dr. Scott, Dr. W. Cronin, Dr. Coppinger, Ml. Cunningham, R. Holmes, O'Neill Power, N. G. Seymour, Jun.; Rev. Mr. Woodroffe, all of Cove; Justin McCarthy, Carrignafoy; John Francis Maguire, Cork; and Captain Fawcett, second Officer of the "Jamestown," all of whom have long since passed away. Dr. Power made a floridly eloquent speech, in the course of which, with pardonable exaggeration, he apostrophised the guest of the evening in the following terms:—

"Captain Forbes, you have indeed accomplished a great and glorious mission. You have added a new glory to the land of your birth—the land of Washington and Franklin. Sir, you have raised a monument more lasting than brass; for your name is already engraved on the grateful hearts of eight millions of an enthusiastic and grateful people. Ages yet unknown will pronounce with reverence and respect your honoured name."

That Captain Forbes had no reason to complain of the reception which he had met with in this instance and many others, during his stay in Cork Harbour, is shown by the following public notice which he had issued at Cork on April 22nd, 1847:—

"Captain Forbes of the 'Jamestown,' being on the eve of departure, and finding it entirely impossible for him to acknowledge in person the many acts of kindness, and the many offers of hospitality done and tendered to him by the civil, military, and naval authorities, as well as by the revered clergy of all denominations, and by all classes of citizens, takes this method of offering his apologies for any seeming neglect of the forms due to them.

"Captain Forbes begs leave to offer to all, whether public or private citizens

of Cork and Cove and vicinity, his unfeigned thanks for all their kindnesses, and to assure all that he receives their generous sympathy and unbounded approbation with great satisfaction, considering himself simply as the agent of the benevolent in the United States, who sent him to perform a grateful duty.

"Captain Forbes returns his thanks (last not least) to the ladies who have so kindly offered their beautiful verses for presentation, and so kindly expressed their warm sympathy in prose and verse."

Within more recent years the "Jamestown" has had a successor in Cork Harbour, when, in 1880, the Americans sent over, on a like errand of mercy, the "Constellation," with provisions for the relief of the great distress then prevalent mainly in the West of Ireland.

Spenser's Knowledge of the Neighbourhood of Mitchelstown.

BY COURTENAY MOORE, CANON, M.A., COUNCIL MEMBER.



ANY people are familiar with the fact that Spenser lived at Kilcolman Castle, Buttevant, Co. Cork, and that he there wrote much of the "Faerie Queene." They are also familiar with the fact that he described the Awbeg in that poem under the name of the Mulla, thus:—

"And Mulla mine, whose waves I whilom taught to weep."

Again:—

"Mulla, the daughter of old Mole, so hight,
The nymph that of that water course has charge,
That springing out of Mole doth run down right
To Buttevant, where spreading forth at large
It giveth name unto that ancient city,
Which Kilnemullah cleeped is of old,
Whose cragged ruins breed great ruth and pity
To travellers which it from far behold."

There is still, or was certainly in recent years, an ancient oak in the garden of Renny House, Ballyhooly, on the banks of the Blackwater, called Spenser's oak. But this house was demolished a few years ago, and I do not know the fate of the garden and the oak. Spenser knew the Blackwater:—

"Sweet Awniduff, which of the English man
Is cal' de Blacke-water."

His references to the Bandon river and the Lee are also familiar :—

"The pleasant Bandon crowned with many a wood,
The spreading Lee, that, like an island fayre,
Encloseth Corke with his divided flood."

Indeed, as readers of the "Faerie Queene" are aware, most of the rivers not only of Cork but of all Ireland, are noted in the poem, and hit off concisely and with wonderful precision, e. g. :—

"The spacious Shanau, spreading like a sea,
The pleasant Boyne, the fishy, fruitful Bann."

"The first the gentle Shure, that making way
By sweet Clonmel adorne rich Waterford ;
The next the stubborn Newre (Nore ?), whose waters gray
By fair Kilkenny and Rossepointe boord ;
The third the goodly Barow, which doth pour
Great heaps of salmons in his deepe bosome."

It may here be said all this is well and good, but what about Mitchelstown and its river? What has Spenser said of it? Patience, friend, you shall know presently. The river of Mitchelstown is the Funcheon, i. e., "the ash-growing river," which rises in the Galtees. It flows through the Mitchelstown demesne, issuing thence, continues its course by Marshalstown, Rockmills, Glanworth, and Kilworth, until it falls into the Blackwater. Spenser describes the Funcheon near its source in the Galtees. Not very far beyond the village of Kilbehenny there is a brook called the Brackbawn, i. e., "the speckled field," probably because the fields through which it flows are speckled or studded with spotted stones ; it divides the counties of Limerick and Tipperary there. Spenser calls the Brackbawn the Molanna, e. g. :—

"So now her waves pass through a pleasant plain,
Till with the Funcheon she herself doth wed,
And both combined themselves, in one fair river spread."

Again, he calls the Brackbawn the Fanus, e. g. :—

"Yet Fanus for her pain
Of her beloved Funcheon did obtain
That her he would receive into his bed."

It is also in the river Brackbawn that Spenser places the bath of Diana, e. g. :—

"For first she springs out of two marble rocks
On which a grove of oak high-mounted grows,
That, as a garland, seemed to deck the locks
Of some fayre bride brought forth with pompous shows,
Out of her bower that many flowers strewn,
So through the flowery dales she tumbling doune
Through many woods and shady coverts flows,

That on each side her silver channel crown,
 Till to the plain she comes, whose vallies she doth drum
 In her sweet dream. Diana used oft
 After her sweatie chase and toilsome play,
 To bathe herself; and often on the soft
 And downy grass her dainty limbs to lay
 In covert shades, where none behold her may,
 For much she hated sight of living eye."

As already said above, I think it is quite the case that while many are aware that Spenser wrote of the Awbeg and the neighbourhood of Buttevant in the "Faerie Queene," and residents in the district are proud, and justly proud of the fact, I believe it is not nearly so generally known that he also wrote of the Funcheon and Brackbawn in the immediate neighbourhood of Mitchelstown; and described them with as much beauty and accuracy as he described other Irish rivers. Indeed, if a comparison were pressed, I doubt if there is anything in his description of the Awbeg, his "Mulla mine," so complimentary as his making the Brackbawn, or Molanna, the bath of Diana. It is in order to place this matter in its proper light that I put it forward in this paper, not that I wish to depreciate Buttevant, but to "remember Mitchelstown."

The lines quoted above descriptive of the Brackbawn, bear the marks of the authorship of an eye-witness, and Spenser lived quite long enough in North Cork to have had ample opportunity of visiting the Galtees. Indeed, it may be added, that his beautiful, interesting and accurate descriptions of Irish rivers were apparently written from personal observation. Lord Macaulay has said in one of his critical essays something to this effect, that while it is the fashion to admire Spenser, very few really read him. This is only too true. Comparatively few know anything of the "Faerie Queene," but its name and the name of its author.

Watch Papers.

By ROBERT DAY, F.S.A.



THE double-cased watches of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, between the watch and its outer case, are still found circular pieces of embroidered silk and lace work, which were primarily used to preserve the inner case of the watch, as the outer shell was often decorated with classical subjects and battle pieces in bold repousse, and so produced a rough interior surface that would have torn and injured the surface. Sometimes circular pieces of silk were substituted, which fitted between the cases, and had

printed upon them verses, mottoes, posies, and loving wishes, or else the more prosaic trade labels of either the original makers, or the after repairers of the watches. In the latter case, either pencil or pen marks on the back give the dates of the last cleaning or repairing, and so approximate the age. These labels have often a local interest, as they not only perpetuate the names of the silversmiths who by their work made Cork famous, but they give their addresses and the names and numbers of the streets where they worked. Notably among the few that from time to time I have helped to save from destruction are those of William Martin, to whom were entrusted in 1738 the four silver maces of the city for repairs and restoration, of which the following minute occurs in the "Council Book of the Corporation" by Dr. Caulfield: "Item—That £19 10s. od. be paid to William Martin, silversmith, for new casting and gravings the silver maces according to the report made by Aug. Carr. 1st. Sep., 1738." Also that of M. Nicolson, who prior to 1809 was junior partner with his brother, John, the well-known silversmith. His watch paper is printed, and represents a figure emblematic of Time holding an oval shield, inscribed—"N. Nicolson, watch and clock maker, No. 21 Grand Parade, Cork." Around the margin, "Elegant variety of jewellery, plated ware and hardware." No. 21 Grand Parade was the south corner shop of George's Street.

Martin.—On printed paper, "Martin, watch and clock maker, 8 Prince's Street, Cork," from a watch dated 1769. Upon this also the figure of Time armed with a scythe and holding the hour glass occurs.

Rice.—"Samuel Rice, Mallow, repeating, duplex, lever, and horizontal watch and clock maker." Printed on paper within a circular rope-work border, and in the centre a square and compass upon the leaves of an open book.

Carroll.—"William Carroll, watch and clock maker, George's Street, Cork." On printed paper, a figure representing Time, pointing to a clock, the dial of which has "Carroll, Cork." Written upon the back of the paper, "W. C., 1821." The watch is gold-plated on copper, and is made by "S. Houston, Dublin, No. 912."

Fuller.—"Fuller, watch and clock maker, 21 Patrick Street, opposite Prince's Street, Cork"; written on the back is "April 14, 1820." This paper label has also a figure of Time seated on a moss-grown rock, on which the name and address, as above, are inscribed.

Mangan.—There was a very artistic label used by the late Mr. James Mangan in his old-established Patrick Street factory, where the writer had the privilege of seeing him working with his own hands upon the great turret clock of Shandon, which he made throughout

in his workshop. His watch paper has a figure of Minerva resting on a pedestal with the inscription, "Mangan, time piece maker, Patrick Street, Cork." On it a clock supporting a figure of Time, and in the background, half hidden by the trees, the tower and spire of Old St. Barry's. The plate is signed by its engraver, "B. Galland, Sc." Mr. Mangan has long since passed away, but he has left a worthy successor in his son.

Simkins.—"John Simkins, watch and clock maker, 13 Patrick Street, Cork, two doors from Fish Street." A printed paper label.

Embroidered silk—"May thy days be blest —C. L."

Lace—Upon a rose-pink ground a very delicate and beautiful piece of minute white lace work.

Silk—Printed on white silk, in the centre—"Lash'd to the helm, should seas o'erwhelm, I'll think on thee, my Love"; and round the margin —"The Glorious No Surrender 1688."

Silk—Printed on white silk—

"Too late I staid, forgive the crime,
Unheeded flew the hours,
For noiseless falls the foot of time,
That only treads on flowers.

Oh! who to sober measurement,
Time's happy swiftness brings,
When Birds of Paradise have lent
The plumage of their wings."

A wish—

"Wherever you dwell, may content be your lot,
And friendship, like ivy, encircle your cot;
May each rosy morn, dressed in mantle of peace,
Shed health o'er your cottage, your blessings increase;
May gay, smiling plenty adorn each spot,
May sorrow ne'er enter the door of your cot;
May your honest endeavours be crown'd with success,
May you ever live happy, ne'er witness distress;
May good humour and mirth in your rural retreat
In your cottage of friendship with innocence meet;
On your neat humble roof may those blessings descend,
'Tis a wish free from guile: 'tis the wish of a friend."

This is printed in seven circular lines, narrowing to the centre, across which in capital letters is the final word, Friend.

Trial of Rowan Cashel, Attorney, for Murder of Henry Arthur O'Connor, Tralee, 1816.

CONTRIBUTED BY JAMES F. FULLER, F.S.A., F.R.I.A.I.

[In Vol. VII. of this "Journal," pages 149 to 166, I gave an account of the above. See also note Vol. IX. page 69, in which I promised to return to the subject.]



REAT surprise was expressed at the result of the trial which acquitted the prisoner; and so strong was the feeling against Judge Day, that his retirement from the bench soon after was said to be caused by public indignation at his charge to the jury.

I came across, in a second-hand bookshop in London, a curious and interesting pamphlet, printed in Cork, but without author's or printer's name. It was published anonymously, obviously from fear of the consequences, and bears on title page the manuscript signature of T. Twiss—a name well known in the South, and a member of which family gave evidence at the trial. I take the pamphlet to have been written by Thomas Fitzgerald O'Connor, brother of the young man who was shot, and who was then reading for the bar, and was also a witness at the trial. I quote the "Advertisement" first:—

"The subject of this trial is certainly one in which the interests of society are deeply involved, whether it be considered with a view to securing the due and impartial administration of public justice, or to the preservation of human life, which the imperious code of honour may at some period compel the most peaceable man to expose to that fiery ordeal established by public opinion, and in a great measure sanctioned by courts of law in this country. Mr. Justice Day, before whom this trial was heard, is a native of the County of Kerry, and connected with some of the most ancient and respectable families in that county; this gentleman, who endeavours to reconcile in his person the sound politician and impartial judge, was at the time of this trial most actively employed in canvassing the County of Kerry for his grandson, Mr. Edward Denny (son to the Baronet of that name), whom he seeks to invest with that political consequence to which his family and fortune fully entitle him. Mr. O'Connor, father of the deceased, the prosecutor in this cause, is closely connected with, and firmly attached to an opposite interest. From these circumstances, as well as that the learned judge was both related to and connected with the prisoner, the prosecutor was anxious to relieve him from the embarrassing situation in which he (the prosecutor) thought he must have felt himself placed, were he to preside at the trial. The prosecutor, apprehensive lest the voice of slander should raise itself, and calumny, forgetful even of the dignity of the bench, should boldly

venture to assert that the sacred character of the judge had merged in the finesse of the petty politician, and the equally poised scale of justice sunk beneath the pressure of political venality, furnished his counsel with an affidavit stating the absence of several material witness, and moved to have this trial postponed until the following assizes; a proposal which, as it was calculated to relieve the learned judge from a situation unquestionably of great delicacy, he conceived would have been readily embraced. After some discussion, in which the counsel for the prosecution strongly insisted on the postponement, as an incontrovertible privilege of the crown, whilst the counsel for the prisoner urged the insufficiency of the affidavit, the court ruled it against the prosecution, on which the counsel for the prosecution declared to the court that they had never heard of such an application being refused at the first assizes, particularly when they made no objection to the prisoner being admitted to bail, and recommended to his lordship to consult with his brother judge on the propriety of such a refusal, as it would be but a mere mockery of justice to proceed to trial, and the inevitable consequence would be a failure of justice, by which a criminal would escape the penalties of the law. The court persevered, and was about to discharge the prisoner, when upon an application, it was with difficulty induced to grant time until the following morning, but positively refused to grant one day longer to prepare for the prosecution. Thus was frustrated the expedient which the prosecutor devised for relieving the delicacy of the judge, and promoting the ends of public justice; nor, were the anticipations of the prosecutor ill grounded, either in respect to the popular clamor from which he was anxious to relieve the judge, nor as to the event of the trial; for the county of Kerry now, *una voce*, exclaims, why did he not transfer this important trial to Mr. Justice Mayne, who having finished the civil business, was then employed in assisting him to get over the criminal calendar. Erroneous as the *vox populi* may be, and nothing is more liable to error, and shielded as the judge may feel himself in the integrity of his own views, the *mens conscia recti* steeling him against every malevolent insinuation, yet is the salutary precaution of our ancestors not destitute of merit, which guarded against any imputation of this nature by removing the cause of it, and ordaining that no judge should preside in his own county. The observations of Sir William Blackstone on this subject are as follows: "The prudent jealousy of our ancestors ordained that no man of law should be judge of assize in his own county, wherein he was born or doth inhabit, and a similar prohibition is found in the civil law which has carried this principal so far that it is equivalent to the crime of sacrilege to be governor of the province in which he was born or hath any civil connexion."—Blackstone's Commentaries, Vol. III., cap. 4. This ordinance founded on the frailty of human nature, must have had in contemplation some judge of a very different character from that of the highly respectable gentleman who presided at this trial: it must have been a barrier erected against any corrupt individual, who under the sanction of the judicial robe, may be disposed to sacrifice every consideration human and divine at the shrine of self-interest or ambition; any smiling sycophantic impostor, who, regardless of those laws which he has made his study, and of that justice which he has sworn impartially to administer, may be inclined to prostitute his sacred office to the base and unworthy purpose of intrigue; but modern refinement has abolished this principle, and consulting solely the dignity of the judge, has forgotten altogether the infirmities of the man. Hence it happens that it is now no uncommon sight to behold a learned judge of the most unquestionable

integrity seated on the judicial bench in the midst of his numerous friends and connexions, with smiles and blandishments soliciting judicial aggrandisement for his family. On such a tribunal, that attribute so truly characteristic of the Divinity cannot fail to attend in its most attractive and amplified forms: here the palliatives of every crime will be received with paternal solicitude, nor will even the bloodthirsty assassin be altogether excluded from its benign influence. To dismiss this subject, Mr. Justice Day, who was in Tralee at the time this melancholy occurrence took place, expressed the greatest indignation, and immediately issued warrants for the apprehension of the delinquent who had fled. The upright judge, however, in a short time after told the prosecutor (with whom he was on terms of intimacy) that he had received a letter from a lady of well-known political influence in that county, requesting he would take bail for the prisoner, which he refused doing; but told the prosecutor that numerous applications had been made to him to interfere, and that he wished he could be prevailed on to give up the idea of prosecuting, observing that mischief enough had been done, and that the bringing of the perpetrator of the crime to justice could answer no useful purpose. It is needless to make any comment on such language proceeding from a judge. He also told the prosecutor and everybody else that he would come that circuit in the ensuing Spring. Nobody can pretend to say that it was this declaration which induced Mr. George Cashel, brother of the prisoner, to register a batch of freeholders shortly after this fatal occurrence, he never having registered any before; but it is sufficient that he has done so, as will appear by a reference to the Registry of 20th August and 11th October, 1815, where it will also appear that similar exertions have been made by several other relations of the prisoner, for some unaccountable purpose, at the time the learned judge declared his intention of coming on this circuit—which he did several months before the assizes. Mr. O'Connor acquainted a number of his friends with his determination to postpone this trial, who all acquiesced in the necessity of it, and so conscious was the judge himself of some such interest, that he told a particular friend of Mr. O'Connor in the city of Limerick, when on circuit, that he had heard that Mr. O'Connor had an idea of deferring the trial, and that if he did so he should admit the prisoner to bail. In consequence of the resolution which Mr. O'Connor had previously formed, as well as from the security which such a declaration was calculated to inspire, Mr. O'Connor made no preparation whatsoever for this trial, not having summoned even his most material witnesses, and was thus obliged to bring it forward at a notice of a very few hours. The next circumstance which renders this trial interesting to the public is the useful lesson it is calculated to teach every gentleman of true honour and spirit, who may have the misfortune to be involved in a duel, as Society is infested with dastardly and base assassins, who, in the garb of gentlemen, outrage every social feeling and moral duty, whose characters may not be fully understood before some valuable member may fall a victim to their barbarity. It is peculiarly incumbent on every gentleman who undertakes the office of a second (being himself armed) to take care that the compact between the parties be strictly adhered to, since it is fully evident, on the face of this trial, that the deceased lost his life by a shot fired a considerable time after he had been unarmed, and contrary to the express agreement of the parties, which his second, had he been prepared, might have prevented."

The above is a heavy and scathing indictment of Judge Day; but

it does not end here. In "Observations on the Charge to the Jury," the writer says:—

"It is observable that the learned judge has omitted to state the only material part of Mr. Busteed's evidence, the declaration of the deceased when under the impression of death, viz., 'Mr. Cashel has dealt very unfairly by me, having taken aim at me after my shot was fired.' On the evidence of Mr. Quill, he points out very forcibly to the jury that the deceased had used the first offensive language. This arose, as has been proved before, from a mistake of this witness who misplaced the words, 'you must pay me or shall not play at this table.' It is surprising the learned judge did not advert to the previous conduct of the prisoner, which would have fully justified even this observation had it been made use of. The prisoner lost the bet, the marker, who in these cases is always the umpire, decided against him; the witness swore that he also decided against him, and although the deceased might then have insisted on being paid, yet so well inclined was he to accommodate, that he offered to toss up for the bet in dispute. All his efforts for peace were met with a taunting an insulting remark, 'you are a brat of a boy.' This, the learned judge observed to the jury, was not language of a very offensive nature; but could anything possibly have been said more likely to exasperate a young gentleman of 18 years of age? 'You shall not play at this table,' was not used by the deceased until the prisoner said, 'I will make this a business with your father.' There cannot be vestige of a doubt (although the learned judge inferred it might have meant a complaint to his father), that the prisoner meant a personal business; and this is evident as well by the acceptance in which it was taken by the deceased, who replied, 'I am able to fight my own battles,' as also by the reply of Mr. Quill to Mr. Pennefather, on his cross-examination, where he positively swears the prisoner said nothing about a complaint to the father of the deceased. In fact the prisoner bet with the deceased as a man, and won his money as a man, but when he in turn lost and should have paid the deceased, he was then a boy; he wrangled with this boy with a degree of inveteracy that ill bespoke his superiority as a man, and when he had told him, as is sworn, he would kick him out of the room, thereby giving him such an insult as he ought not to have given any young gentleman whom he would not meet as a man, he had again recourse to the subterfuge of his being a boy. The deceased being refused payment, very naturally observed, "you do not now pay me, and I praise the lord as I find it," here the learned judge states to the jury that upon this language (which he stigmatises with the epithet of insulting) being applied to the prisoner, he, the prisoner, said, "you are a brat of a boy, and I will turn you out of the room," the expression was not turn you out, as in the mild language of the judge, but kick you out; and on this gross insult no comment is made by the judge. When the reiterated exertions of Mr. Morris to procure an amicable arrangement are brought to recollection, his proposal to refer the dispute to Mr. Quill, who was present at it, or to the decision of any three or four impartial gentlemen, his mild and conciliatory conduct in every stage of this business, his patience under the grossest personal insult, the reconciliation to which he acceded, with the highly meritorious view of the preservation of the life and honour of his friend; when the manly and disinterested coolness of this gentleman of rank, consequence, and well known spirit are considered, it is rather surprising that they did not extort from the learned judge any other observation than that his object was "a laudable one," and it is equally astonishing that the outrageous and

unparalleled conduct of the prisoner who, though he had been grossly the aggressor from the commencement, resisted every attempt at reconciliation, and added to the insult already given, one still more daring and unprovoked than the former, by horsewhipping the friend of the deceased, did not call forth any severer remark from the learned judge than that "the prisoner unfortunately (this is the term) refused to leave it to Mr. Quill." The learned gentleman, besides, observes to the jury, that the decided opposition of the prisoner to an amicable arrangement with a boy, was not an indication of a sanguinary nature; the learned judge will find very few to acquiesce in this. The alternatives for the deceased were, either to sit down for ever a degraded member of society, or to assert his right by an appeal to arms. This appeal he had a right to insist on, and the outrageous conduct of the prisoner ought not here to plead in his justification, as it is a maxim of law and justice that no man should profit by his own wrong. The learned judge has read for the jury the posting which the deceased had put up, and made very severe remarks upon it, but has not read or made any observation on that put up by the prisoner, which was much more inflammatory than the other, and which, by the unwarrantable observation made in it on Mr. Morris, produced this fatal consequence. He states to the jury that Mr. Thomas O'Connor said very candidly that had he been posted he would have felt much irritated, but this is the answer to a mere abstract question, and affords no sort of justification for the prisoner, who had brought it on himself, and who, if similarly circumstanced, must have himself done the same. The learned judge makes no remark upon the great interval between the shots, proved by Mr. Thomas O'Connor, but he proceeds to state to the jury that Mr. James O'Connor proved that the prisoner *rather turned his person, levelled, and fired*; but it appears from the testimony of this gentleman that the prisoner *completely fronted* the deceased, *stept forward a pace, and took a deliberate aim*. He also proved (not in the cold language of the learned judge) that he had been on familiar terms with the family of the deceased, and had been always treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality. The learned judge again reminds the jury of the very aggravated insult given Mr. Cashel, and dwells on the necessity of the prisoner fighting, although he had been the person who sent an hostile message, and who might have acquitted himself with honour by not firing at the deceased; he states that Mr. Samuel Morris heard the second shot in a short time after the first, but upon a reference to the evidence of this gentleman, it will be found that this short time was no less than three seconds (time sufficient to take aim at the smallest object). The learned judge attaches no weight to the prisoner equipping and charging his own pistols, lest they may not be properly loaded for the perpetration of this crime. On the evidence of Mr. Joseph O'Connor, he remarks that "this witness does not admit any change of position, but that the prisoner might have *squared a little*." It will be perceived that this witness proved that the prisoner *squared his person altogether*. The learned judge proceeds to state that he swore to an interval of three or four seconds between the shots, and that Mr. Collis, the high sheriff of the county, swore to the same, but refrains from making the slightest remark on this immense interval; he states that Mr. Twiss admits of an interval of time sufficient to count, "one, two," but appears to forget that this gentleman (when pressed to it) admitted that "three may be counted." The learned judge then tells the jury that Mr. John O'Connell, the next witness, does not admit that he was on the ground. It was not necessary to have impressed this on the minds of the jury, who knew that Mr. O'Connell, as a magistrate (in consequence of the prohibition of the Court),

could not be supposed to be present on such an occasion ; this ought not to weaken any testimony he was permitted to give. The learned judge proceeds to state that Mr. O'Connell had deposed that the deceased repeated his blow *severely* which term was never used by this witness, and then states that Mr. Hurly swore that there might be time for aim but not *a deliberate aim* ; but no such expression was used by Mr. Hurly ; no remark is here made on the length of time this witness must have taken in getting from outside the crowd to see what had occurred within, before the second shot was fired. Here the learned judge came to the Defence, and it is remarkable what importance he has attached to the evidence of two such men as Mr. McGillicuddy and Mr. Mason ; he recapitulated the evidence of Mr. Mason, and strange ! passing strange ! announced to the jury that he saw no inconsistency between both sides of the evidence. But the public cannot fail to see not only its total inconsistency with all the previous evidence, but what is still more glaring, its flagrant inconsistency with itself, as will appear by a reference to the evidence (which, should it be attempted to be denied, can be confirmed by the oath of the reporter). This witness being asked if the word was given quickly, said it was given in a confused manner, and when afterwards asked if the word "ready" (which was the only word he admitted he had heard) was given distinctly, he replied "so distinctly that I must have heard it," it remains for this witness to explain how the same word could be at the same time distinct and confused ; he swore upon his direct examination that the word "ready" was scarcely pronounced or heard before the deceased fired, and, upon his cross-examination, he admitted that there was time enough between the word "ready" and the firing of the first shot to admit of the word "fire" being pronounced ; and admitted that if Mr. O'Connell swore it was given, he (contrary to the evidence of his own senses) believed it was repeated ; but observes that, if it was, it must have been done in a low voice. This respectable witness, who occupied so much of the learned judge's attention, swore most positively that he did not speak to anybody about the duel at Abbeydorney, or ever say that it was unfair (with a saving clause that, if he did, he told a lie) ; he afterwards admitted that he spoke to a Mr. Day and a Mr. Upton on the subject at Abbeydorney. This respectable gentleman has also advanced a most monstrous doctrine on the fairness of a duel. "If one man's shot," said he, "should happen to go off before the word, his adversary has a right to take as much time as he chooses," and thus coolly butcher him afterwards. Is this what the learned judge calls waiting for the time justly ? In all this the only variation which struck the learned judge was that "some heard the word and others did not," and for this reason it was that he thus emphatically addressed the jury, "*but did the prisoner hear the word ?*" It is strange what doubt the learned judge could have entertained on the subject. Several witnesses of the highest respectability in the county swore that they heard them very distinctly ; they were given by an officer who was in the habit of giving them, and heard very distinctly by persons some hundred yards from the parties ; yet these two virtuous witnesses (the one a sworn relation to the prisoner, and the other one of his most active partizans, whose son had been second to the prisoner, and who would have been tried for his life had the prisoner been convicted) were the only persons of some hundreds who were present who could be produced to swear that they had not heard the word "fire." The learned judge proceeds to state that it was impossible the prisoner's resentment could have subsided during the night, and that therefore it was that witnesses had sworn that the heat of blood had not subsided on the following

morning. The law says otherwise, but the learned judge would not believe the law on that subject, but says, "if the heat of blood even did subside, the irritability must have still remained." Did he mean this as a justification of the prisoner? What is this irritability (as the qualified phraseology of the learned judge expresses it) when the heat of blood has subsided; *is it not what the law denominates malice prepense*—the very essence of murder—a rancorous desire of vengeance, when the ordinary passions incidental to human nature have subsided? But what can be the object of the learned judge casting obloquy on the memory of the young gentleman deceased? He states to the jury that "flesh and blood could not endure the provocation given to Mr. Cashel"; he dwells on the contumeliousness of the unfortunate deceased, the reluctance of prisoner to a mortal collision; "Cashel must have been a degraded man in society"—"could not hold up his head after it"—"must be stigmatised as a coward"—must have been for the remainder of his life "an isolated being"—and pathetically tells the jury that the prisoner was better pleased to throw his life upon them than submit to such a humiliation. What could the learned judge propose by such an appeal? Were not all those observations more strongly applicable to the deceased, who must have been thus degraded had he permitted himself to be trampled on by the prisoner? Was not the deceased the gentleman really insulted? Was he not the person really disposed to conciliate? Were not all his efforts opposed with accumulated insults? Was he not posted and first struck with a whip? Was not his friend posted and twice horsewhipped? Finally, was he not the person insultingly challenged and treacherously killed? The learned judge gives the jury to understand that though he is a judge of the King's Bench, they are now in a court of honour. This judge of the King's Bench states the case very feelingly, and concludes by telling the jury that he would not mind a pause of "one, two," in this court of honour. Probably in such a court he would have thought but little of a pause of "ten." An interval of three or four seconds had been proved by some of the most respectable gentlemen in the county, who from their delicacy where the life of a human being was involved (some related to and all acquainted with the prisoner) estimated the lapse of time reluctantly and at the shortest possible calculation; this interval should have been the real subject for consideration in any court of either law or honour, nor could any court sanction the prisoner squaring his body, stepping forward a pace, and taking aim at an unarmed man. But says this gentleman (the judge) lest the time could not be in any way accounted for—"Did the prisoner hear the word?" Did not Mr. Twiss swear that it was almost impossible but he must have heard it? Did not the provost of Tralee hear it at a distance of some hundred yards? Did not Mr. O'Connell hear it? And did not everybody except those two witnesses hear it. Not an individual in court could refrain from a mingled smile of indignation and contempt, when these men were giving evidence.

This bitter attack on Judge Day appears to me to be fully warranted by the facts of the case; but strong as it is, it is not equal to the open letter which follows it, and which is acknowledged as coming from a brother of the unfortunate boy who lost his life. It runs thus:—

LETTER ADDRESSED TO MR. JUSTICE DAY.

Sir—In consequence of the great contrariety which appears between the evidence given by the witnesses, and that which is reported as detailed by you

in your charge to the jury on the trial of Mr. Cashel, in order to ascertain to whom this incorrectness is attributable, it was deemed necessary by my family to lay the report of their respective testimonies before the several witnesses who had been examined on the part of the prosecution, and to request that if any inaccuracy had occurred in the report they would correct it before it went to the press. It was my original intention to have published this certificate, but as some of the gentlemen who gave evidence expressed a reluctance to such a proceeding, if no attempt was made at contradiction, I have been induced at present to with-hold this document ; but if either for your satisfaction, sir, or that of the public, it should at any time appear necessary, I shall publish the certificate. Mr. John Hurly, jun., Clerk of the Crown, who has admitted the report of his evidence to be literally correct, has assigned so extraordinary a reason for not affixing his name to this certificate, that I think it but fair, sir, to apprise you of it. This gentleman observed that he had an important suit pending in the Court of King's Bench, and that he would be apprehensive, sir, of offending you by such a proceeding. I confess it appears very strange to me what objection this gentleman can conceive you, sir, can possibly have to the manifestation of truth ; he has not been called on to give any opinion on your charge to the jury, of which I hope he entertains no favourable impression. I recollect perfectly, sir, that you told the jury, at the conclusion of it, that you would not mind a difference such as "one, two," between the shots ; but, sir, if you had for that space of time a loaded pistol presented at your breast it might render you a little more alive to the difference. I assure you, sir, for my part, were I placed thus armed before you, serious as your apprehensions might be, I should be the last man in the community who would harbour a wish to deprive the world of so well cemented a mass of legal information and sterling integrity. In my mind, sir, the honour and incorruptibility of your character has nearly kept pace with the brilliancy of your wit, and transcendent lustre of your talents. You were, sir, elevated to the bench at an era of great national importance, on the union of this country with the sister kingdom ; your exertions on which occasion were rewarded with the exalted and well merited rank which you now hold ; and it was indeed a very happy coincidence, that an era fraught with such important consequences to the interest of two great Kingdoms should have been marked by the elevation of so distinguished a character. But it is not merely on those great and trying occasions when the vital interests of our country have called imperatively on that talent on which they have an undeniable claim, that you afford a brilliant example for the admiration of the present, and improvement of the rising generation. If following you from the bench of justice, we take a view of you in the more tranquil and sequestered scenes of social life, even here you will not fail to excite in the mind of every moral and intelligent observer a train of serious and instructive reflections ; however, I shall here refrain from lifting up the veil of the sanctuary, and leave you, sir, to the uninterrupted enjoyment arising from the retrospect of a well spent life. There is no act of either your public or private life from whence some salutary lesson may not be derived ; one grand principle appears to pervade the whole. If we contemplate the political horizon it will appear ever to have been the polar star ; nor has its vivifying influence been less conspicuous in every act which emanated from you in your judicial capacity ; and in regulating your intercourse in private life it has invariably been the primum mobile. I regret, sir, that the narrow limits I feel myself obliged to prescribe to these observations, should preclude the possibility of bringing to your recollection some of the principal acts and features

which have characterised your career in public life ; however, lest you, sir, or the public, may conceive that any self-interested motive had thus prepossessed me in your behalf, or that your conduct on the trial had at all biassed me in your favour, I think it necessary to disclaim it. I assure you, sir, I feel under no obligation whatsoever to you upon that head ; I, on the contrary, think (for I will be candid with you) that your own good sense and delicacy ought to have suggested to you, circumstanced as you were in the county, and related to and connected as you were with the prisoner, the propriety of postponing this trial, or at least transferring it to Mr. Justice Mayne. I am authorised, sir, to state, from a most unquestionable source, that two days before this trial you read a letter in company with the Knight of Kerry and a select party of your political friends from Lady V——⁽¹⁾ (who had before solicited you to admit the prisoner to bail) informing you that Lord V——⁽¹⁾ (who could poll at least two thousand freeholders) had not as yet declared whom he would support. Lord V——, sir, you well know to be cousin german to the prisoner's father, and I ask you, in the name of wonder, how you could reconcile it to your nice discernment and delicate sense of propriety, to have insisted on presiding at this trial, and to have refused its postponement ? It is true you quoted a precedent from yourself, but it was one which you had established but a week before in the town of Ennis, and great an idea as I entertain of your judgment, I am humbly of opinion it would have better suited the dignity of your character to have sought a precedent from any other source. Sir, I do not (like several pretended friends of yours) refrain from an open avowal of my sentiments. I come forward with that candour for which you have more than once given credit to a member of our family in your charge to the jury ; I tell you that you have committed a very serious error ; and I am, I assure you, very apprehensive that those pretended friends and a censorious world will not be disposed to ascribe this inadvertant act to its genuine source. Sir, a generous mind, unsophisticated in deception, does not anticipate that malice which it feels conscious it does not merit. In the unsuspecting simplicity of an upright mind, whilst employed in the conscientious discharge of your duty, I regret to say you have imperceptibly armed the tongue of slander against you. The apprehension of fines, bolts and bars may deter many from giving publicity to their sentiments, but if they would but reflect how much more agreeable to you a manly avowal of those sentiments would be than thus to poison the public mind with mysterious inuendoes, they would have come forward, as I now do, and in a friendly manner have apprised you of your error. Had they sufficiently known you, sir, they would by such conduct have secured your gratitude and esteem ; for no person could, better than you, sir, have informed them that though pains and penalties may secure an exalted delinquent from being held up to public reprobation, yet that an innate integrity and self-approving conscience are the sweetest barriers against the voice of the traducer. The infliction of punishment may gratify a vindictive spirit, but can by no means acquit in the public estimation a dubious character ; those persons do not seem to be aware how much it would have raised them in your opinion had they, whilst they showed a prudent apprehension on the one hand, displayed a little knowledge of their rights and privileges as British subjects on the other, had they shown you, sir, that they were acquainted with the free air which they breathe, and that the constitution of which you, sir, are one of the main pillars, had by means of a free and independent press, put into their hands the means of dragging to public view and

(1) Ventry.

general abhorrence the corruption and depravity of the most exalted public characters. A sound understanding and an extensive knowledge of the laws of your country, have acquainted you so well with the justice of these observations that it is needless for me to urge them. I shall here refrain from any comment on your charge to the jury, which is now before the public. You now, sir, have attained to a proud pre-eminence, you have accomplished what certainly no other judge on the bench could have effected, were they even capable of forming so bold a project. The very errors of such men as you have something in them so novel and dignified, that even where they fail to procure esteem, they are sure to command respect; there was a boldness in the design and a constancy in the execution visible in every feature of your conduct on this occasion; you showed the world how much you soared beyond vulgar prejudices and popular opinion. Sir, your extensive intercourse with society, and your deep knowledge of mankind, have taught you to look down with contempt on all principles of action guided by the torrent of popular opinion; but your less enlightened country friends blush for your conduct on this occasion; they openly declare that it exhibited a shameful outrage against all decorum and public sentiment; but you may depend upon it, sir, it is only their zeal and anxiety for your reputation, which has magnified this really unimportant occurrence to so unwarrantable an extent. If you had seen any real cause for shame, your conduct would have been more reserved and more disguised; but the very open, decided, and unreserved part which you acted operates as a sufficient demonstration that you had nothing to apprehend. I assure you, sir, nothing can equal the dismay of your simple relatives at the thoughts of this publication; they are literally working heaven and earth to give it every obstruction; but for your credit, sir, and the good of the community, it shall certainly be laid before the public. Your fame, sir, is too well established to suffer from any pitiful insinuations which may be thrown out against you, and I confess I have but one source of alarm, which arises from my apprehension that the British parliament, hearing these rumours, may through tenderness for your character deprive us of the pleasure of once more seeing you among us. Before I take leave of you, sir, I would wish for my own private information, to ask you one simple question—why did you not take the common precaution of obliging this man (whom you addressed in something like complimentary language) to enter into a recognizance to keep the peace in future? An homicide was committed, and one of no ordinary nature, and though, sir, he (Cashel) is your relation, and also connected with you, yet I am somewhat surprised that any learned judge of your time of life and experience should let loose on society a man who had fought no less than four duels, wounded one gentleman, and, to use the mildest term, killed another. You, sir, are too well acquainted with every family and almost every individual in this county not to have been perfectly aware that this man had personally insulted one half of the young men in it; and though always reduced to the necessity of making the most abject and submissive apologies, not having hitherto met with any gentleman whose age furnished him with a pretext to consign him to degradation or a premature tomb; yet that the danger arising to society from the intercourse of such a man was not of a nature so inconsiderable as to warrant you in discharging him without an observance even of common forms. There probably is not, sir, a gentleman of 18 years of age in the Kingdom whose family would not be better pleased to see dead than submit to the degradation of being told “he would be kicked out of a public room”; but I suppose, sir, you conceived that the peaceful sermon which you preached when discharging the

prisoner would answer the same purpose. You very kindly observed that there were some of our family still left, and that we ought to feel perfectly content, and even renew habits of intimacy with the prisoner, who had been so good as not to extirpate us altogether; we certainly, sir, feel a due sense of the obligation; but I am somewhat surprised that a degree of apprehension for your grandson, for whom you are now canvassing this county, and who is about the same age, did not induce you to take this precaution. If his youth should be made the pretext for treacherously depriving him of his life, I scarcely think your feelings would be quiescent. Sir, as I have happened to speak of canvassing, I should wish to learn from you how I am to reconcile what appears to me and several others in this county a most unaccountable absurdity in your political conduct. As I take a lively interest in everything that concerns you, I wish that you would furnish me with the means of silencing the clamours of your enemies on this topic. You have ever professed yourself a most steadfast supporter of the Government of the country; you have received numerous favours from the present administration, to whom you have declared an inviolable attachment. You are daily renewing your applications for repetitions of those favours; and under these circumstances, how is it reconcilable to common honesty that you should be at this moment exerting all the influence you can muster to exclude from the representation of this county a strenuous supporter of the present administration, and to establish in his stead a gentleman who (though of considerable talent and merit) is diametrically opposed to the party to whom you profess to adhere? Your enemies loudly exclaim that you are acting a treacherous and perfidious part; that whilst you make a show of supporting the Government, you are privately straining every nerve to fill the benches of opposition. Great an advocate as I am for you, sir, I am sorry it is not in my power to offer a word in your defence; on the contrary, one of your letters which I have got in my possession, and which I here subjoin, would seem to sanction these observations, which I hope you will be able to refute at the Castle, or I should apprehend a speedy termination to all your political influence. Sir, from the very exalted opinion I entertain as well of your honour as of your understanding, I should suppose there must be something in this business not generally understood; and as you are certainly canvassing the county as well for this gentleman as for your grand-son, I can only conclude that you have changed your political sentiments, and that you do not now intend to support the present Government. Believe me, sir, with the most profound respect for the robes with which you are invested, your very obedient and humble servant,

A BROTHER OF THE DECEASED.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. JUSTICE DAY TO A GENTLEMAN
FREEHOLDER OF THE COUNTY OF KERRY.

1815.

My Dear Sir—My grandson, Edward Denny,⁽¹⁾ has declared himself a candidate for the county at the next general election, and has already canvassed with the most

⁽¹⁾ Afterwards Baronet. He was son of Sir Edward Denny, by Elizabeth, only child of Judge Day, and was at this time nineteen years of age. He was sheriff of Kerry in 1827.

flattering success: my zeal for Maurice Fitzgerald ^(a) is not less, and I solicit my friends for both. May I request your support and friendship for my grand-son, upon the express condition only, that it shall not injure our friend, the Knight (of Kerry). I am sure we shall not find in you a cold or lukewarm friend, and that you will sustain our united cause with all your heart, and give it your cordial and strenuous support.—I am, with sincere regard, my dear Sir, very truly yours,

(Signed) ROBERT DAY.

To

Whether the retirement of Judge Day, which took place soon after, was the result of this scathing exposure we cannot now tell; but in all probability it was; such, at all events, was the general impression, and it can hardly be denied that there was not good grounds for the belief. His charge to the jury in the Cashel trial might not have hurt him much, taken by itself, in the estimation of the Castle authorities; but his political tergiversations were not likely to be overlooked by the Government in those days. At all events, the fact remains that he quickly retired into private life.

Rowan Cashell, or Cashel (for the name is given both ways), was a practised shot, and had fought several duels before this fatal one. It is related of him that when about twenty years of age he was one day practising with pistols at the North Bull, when Maguire, the noted duellist, commonly called "Bully Maguire," came up, and asked him whether he would fire so steadily if he had a man before him. Cashell's answer was a prompt "yes"; whereupon they paced their ground, Maguire counted, gave the word, "one, two, three—fire," stood Cashell's shot, and then discharged his pistol in the air, declaring that "it would be a pity to stop so promising a hand." After the death of young O'Connor, Cashell gave up his propensity to duelling, and never fought again.

^(a) Son of the Right Honourable The Knight of Kerry, D.L., Privy Councillor, Commissioner of Customs, Lord of the Treasury, and Admiralty, and Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. Maurice Fitzgerald, like Edward Denny, was in his teens at this time. His mother was a La Touche. He died a lieut. in Rifle Brigade in 1836.

Dr. Caulfield's Contributions to the "Gentleman's Magazine."

(Continued from Vol. IX., page 274.)

DR. CAULFIELD'S "Abstracts from Cromwellian Depositions in the City and County of Cork" are concluded in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for December, 1863; and have but two footnotes—one of which states that Lieutenant Richard Dashwood, a Deponent, passed patent in the 20th of Charles II. for certain lands in Killcaskane, alias Dundermin, East Skeagh, and both Cluggahes, in the barony of Carbery, Co. Cork. In the same number appears an account of the Cork Cuvierian Society's previous meeting, at which Dr. Caulfield reviewed the progress of the Cuvierian Society, whose objects were "Geology, Natural History, Botany, Archæology, the Physical Sciences, and Comparative Philology." At this meeting Mr. Robert Day, now the worthy and devoted President, and one of the founders of the Cork Archæological Society, exhibited some specimens of Irish antiquities, of which he was then, as now, a famous collector—on articles of which nature he is also one of our foremost authorities. Mr. Day was for a period President of the Cork Cuvierian Society, and is doubtless the sole survivor of that useful and memorable Cork society.

To the "Gentleman's Magazine" for August, 1864, Dr. Caulfield contributed some "Early Charters Relating to Youghal," most of them written in Latin. The original documents from which the majority of these abstracts were made were preserved, he states, in the Chartulary at Doughcloyne, a few being in his own collection.

In the October number of the same magazine is his account of the meeting held on the 2nd of March previous, of the Cork Cuvierian Society, at which he delivered an address on "Historical Traditions as Preserved among the Irish Peasantry," in the course of which he mentioned that, "Some years ago, a vessel from Spain cast anchor, with the setting sun, at Smerwick Harbour; and ere that luminary went down, put a boat's crew on shore, who examined the old fortifications with the aid of a chart in their possession; then dug deep in the ground within the circumvallation, and raised therefrom a large chest, which with much difficulty they put on board; and, when the clear morning arose, the countryman, as he looked from the high cliff, could just discern the white sail of the Spanish ship as it bore from his eyes that treasure, which tradition often told him through the lips of his fathers, was concealed somewhere in the old Fort, but guarded by supernatural agency." Dr. Caulfield's address on this occasion showed how decided was his belief in the fidelity of these peasant traditions, in proof of which he pointed out the tradition of a frigate having been wrecked near Timoleague Bay, the accuracy of which was borne out by his subsequent discovery in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, of an account of the loss in 1682 of the "Lark" frigate (which has been reprinted from his copy, in this "Journal").

To the "Gentleman's Magazine" for April, 1864, Dr. Caulfield supplied a short paper, entitled "Lists of Loyal Officers in Munster," as an appropriate sequel to the Depositions of Cromwell's Adherents previously published in that

magazine. They were taken, he adds, from the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and seem to have been compiled for the use of the Duke of Ormond. In this contribution of Dr. Caulfield are included two lists—the first, of “such officers as betraid and complied in betraying the townes of Munster, and are now in command, viz., Captaines Collonel William Warden, Sir Frauncis Foulkes, Sir Nicholas Purdon, Collonel Charles Blunt, Sir St. John Broadricke, Henry Smythwicke, Richard Dashwood, Robert Mainwayring, and George Preater”; and the second—“of such officers in the Co. Cork, who for their manifest affection to his Maties. service, have suffered imprisonment and other penalties, under the late tirannical power exercised over them, viz., John Sentleger, Esq., Lt.-Coll. Hayward St. Leger, Coll. John Jephson, Lt. Coll. Ric. Aldworth, Lt. Coll. Fortescue, Lt. Coll. Alexand. Pygott, Lt. Coll. Beverly Usher, Lt. Coll. Anthony Hoveden, Major Richard Magwyer, Capt. Ben. Peer, and Capt. Richard Gethin.” Named as “Principal Actors in the Revolte of Corke,” are Coll. Richard Townsend, Coll. William Warden, Coll. Will. Piggott, Coll. Ryves, Capt. Jo. Broadrick, Coll. Jo. Hodder”; whilst said to be the 4 spies sent over by Cromwell, to send him intelligence, are Captain Robert Gookin, Coll. Richard Townsend, Lt. Coll. Will. Piggott, and Capt. St. John Broadrick, 28 May, 1664.” These four spies, Dr. Caulfield remarks, though said to have been sent over by Cromwell, seem to have been all Irishmen, except the last. Sir Vincent Gookin resided in the west of the Co. Cork in 1631; and is mentioned in Smith’s Cork (vol. i., page 279). He married a daughter of Sir Thomas Croke, and was probably the father of Captain Robert Gookin, who, at his death—between 1662 and 1666—was of Courtmacsherry, and bequeathed to his wife, Dorothy, his manor of Castlemahon for life, and in his will mentions his friend, Colonel Richard Townsend. This Colonel Richard Townsend had brothers in the County Cork; and there was a numerous family of this name before the rebellion of 1641. We therefore infer that he was an Irishman. As to the other spy, Piggott, he was probably of the Baronet’s family of that name who had long before this been settled in Ireland.

His report of the Cork Cuvierian Society’s meeting of November 4, 1863, published in the “Gentleman’s Magazine” for April, 1864, states that Dr. Caulfield read, thereat, a paper founded on a series of original letters of the period of the Revolution, preserved among the family records of Thomas R. Sarsfield, Esq., Doughcloyne. These letters were written by parties who took a leading share in one of the greatest political struggles that Ireland has passed through, the centre to whom this correspondence was addressed being Lord Kilmallock, who commanded a regiment of cavalry in the service of James II. He was descended from Dominick, second son of Sir Dominick Sarsfield, Premier Baronet of Ireland, and first Lord Kilmallock, who died December, 1663, and was buried on the 17th of January following, in Christ Church, Cork. Some of these letters contain private matters regarding the condition of his Lordship’s estates (he possessed, in addition to the lands of Newcastle, or Garrycloyne, a considerable tract in Courcies’ country, with Kilgobbin Castle, where the dowager lady resided and kept her ancestral evidences); but the majority are on public affairs, and enter minutely into the details which they treat of. A fearless spirit usually characterises the writers. The condition of the army is evidently faithfully represented. Its prospects are never bright; there is some cloud ever impending. Nor is the danger usually apprehended from the approach of the enemy, or disheartening news from afar; but rather from internal disorganisation, the dread of Lord Tyrconnell, and the Irish military executive itself. Rumours of and

passing events are duly set down ; and in one of the letters a poor prisoner taken at the Boyne cries out from his captivity to be remembered in the exchange of prisoners. Captain Walter Galwey appears to have been his Lordship's agent for the army ; and Mr. Leary the agent for his estate. His Lordship's letters to his wife are of much interest. From the battlefield he consoles and guides her with his counsel ; and in gratitude she prays for his triumphant return with victory, and sends to him, to the camp, oil and spices. We also get an insight as to the regimental costume : for the grenadier captain's cape, red and blue velvet ; for the lieutenant's, red and blue broadcloth, the outside blue, to distinguish them from the soldiers'. His Lordship's coat was red ; his armorial cognisance was blazoned on his banner ; and his plume waved from his hat. From the camp at Drogheda we suddenly find him with his regiment at Limerick ; then at Cork, Dublin, or Galway. In Cork his mansion was on the Marsh. In one of his letters it is stated by his agent that attempts were being made to turn it into a hospital ; but that there was no house in the city a sufficient exchange for it, "because it was much larger and better than any." This Lord Kilmallock followed King James to France, and died in exile. His eldest son died in 1722 ; and his second son, who succeeded to the title, was a colonel of infantry in the service of the King of Spain.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for May, 1864, is a report of the Cork Cuvierian Society's meeting of the 2nd of December previous, at which Dr. Caulfield called attention to three original documents of peculiar interest, with seals pendant. The first was a sentence pronounced by John, Lord Bishop of Corke, Cloyne, and Ross, in Christ Church, Cork, on the 25th of March, 1514, to confirm Gerott in the principality of the Rochfords. From this record we learn that the Rochfords were vassals or tenants in fee to the Bishops of Cork ; and that Edmond Rochford, great-grandfather to Gerott, would have sold this lordship to MacCartie More, but for the Mayor and John Walshe, then Dean of Cork. The seal appended to this instrument is the oldest known at present (1864) of a Bishop of Cork. The second instrument was a grant from Philip Barry Oge, Lord of Kinnalega, and true patron of the Church of Inishannon, to Patrick Myaghe, burgess of Kinsale, of a piece of arable land and the patronage of the said church. To this grant is appended the seal of the Abbot of Tracton Abbey, which is probably the only one in existence. The third document thus exhibited was a grant from the Sovereign (Gabriel Soulden) and the Corporation of Kinsale to Thomas Chudleigh, one of a celebrated family of shipbuilders, who flourished in that town in the seventeenth century. It is dated October 10th, 1698. To this instrument is attached an impression in red wax of a very ancient seal of the Corporate body. In the centre are the arms of Kinsale, and round the seal the following legend : "Sigillium Commune-de-Kinsale D'Endilvorth"—this last word, Dr. Caulfield affirms, being another form of Endilsford, the name he believed which the Danes gave to Kinsale.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for June, 1864, is an account of the Cuvierian Society's meeting of the January 6th previous, when Dr. Caulfield laid before that society copies of three documents from the State Paper Office, throwing much light on the state of Cork and its neighbourhood in the time of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. The first two showed that Cork was then a well-frequented haven ; but that it was occasionally at least visited by shipmasters who were nearly as much of the pirate as the trader. The third paper was that written by the Earl of Desmond from Youghal, October 13th, 1557, to Queen Mary, lamenting the dissolution of a famous abbey at Cork. This dissolved

house, Dr. Caulfield stated, was the Franciscan Abbey which occupied the ground on which Wise's distillery now stands. The cemetery extended over the present North Mall and the ground on which the houses there stand. On opening the road here on laying new water pipes, a few years back, large quantities of human remains were thrown up by the workmen. The skeletons were lying as interred, and had never before been disturbed. Between the abbey and North Gate Bridge stood St. Catherine's Church, near where North Abbey Square now stands. Adverting to Bishop Dive Downe's assertion that in King James the Second's time a new chapel was built by the friars on part of the Abbey of St. Francis, Dr. Caulfield then made the very interesting statement that the grandmother of Mr. John Humphreys, then (1864) secretary of the Cork Cuvierian Society, saw King James II., leaning on two friars, passing through the North Main Street to attend Mass in the chapel of St. Francis' Abbey. The last document produced at this meeting was an extract from a letter of Sir John Perrot to Lord Burghley, which shewed that if Sir John could not keep the whole of Ireland in order, it was not for want of employing severe measures.

To the "Gentleman's Magazine" for August, 1864, under the heading of "Early Charters Relating to Youghal," Dr. Caulfield contributed four pages of abstracts, nearly all in Latin—to illustrate the early history of Youghal—taken from the original documents in the Chartulary of Doughcloyne. Under the heading of "Early Charters Relating to the City and County of Cork," Dr. Caulfield contributed about four pages each to the "Gentleman's Magazine" for March and April 1864, of "Abstracts" mostly preserved likewise among the family papers of Thomas Ronayne Sarsfield, Esq., of Doughcloyne. His remarks in reference to these particular abstracts, viz., that "They will prove of inestimable value to the historian of Cork who, he doubts not, will often refer with gratitude to the pages of the 'Gentleman's Magazine'"—form rather pathetic reading, seeing that nearly forty years have since gone by without, in all likelihood, anyone calling attention to Dr. Caulfield's valuable papers in that periodical. One may well hope that ere another forty years elapse a complete collection of Dr. Caulfield's writings will be published in his native city, including the aforesaid "Abstracts," duly translated, or else modernised.

The first portion of his contribution to the "Gentleman's Magazine" for March, 1865, which is in English written about Queen Elizabeth's time, throws much light, he states, on the topography of the places named in the subsequent deeds, reprinted in this number. That for April, 1865, contains his report of two of the Cuvierian Society's meetings—that held in May, 1864, at which Dr. Caulfield gave an account of the very minute examination he had made of Lisnahara fort, about three miles north of Blarney; and that which took place on the 12th of October, 1864, where he recapitulated the proceedings of the Society for the previous year. To the "Gentleman's Magazine" for May, 1865, he furnished a notice of the Cuvierian Society's meeting on November 1, 1864, at which was read the Rev. John W. Hopkins' account of the military antiquities found at Kinsale the summer previous; and of the same society's meeting, Dec. 6th, 1864, at which the (late) Mr. Hodder Westropp exhibited an early almanac printed at Venice in 1485.

Under the heading "Remains of the Original Inhabitants of Ireland," Dr. Caulfield contributed to the "Gentleman's Magazine" for June, 1865, an account of the antiquarian researches into Rathes and Caves in the County Cork, that he made in company with Colonel Lane Fox, F.S.A., in the summer of 1864, and in March, 1865, which he had delivered in the form of a lecture to the Bandon

Young Men's Association, the then Earl of Bandon being in the chair. This is so interesting a paper, and the subject one hardly touched on, so far, in this "Journal," that most of it is here reproduced:—"If I were asked what were the most ancient remains now existing in Ireland, I would certainly point out those earthworks which are so thickly scattered through some parts of the country, and known among the peasants by the name of Forts or Rathes. Many of these curious remains are now fast disappearing before the progress of railways; others have been sacrificed by the industrious and improving agriculturist. The supernatural agency which was supposed to lurk about them, which for ages, like a guardian angel, preserved them, is fast losing its influence; and so I may be permitted here to lift up my voice on their behalf, and request of those gentlemen on whose property they may exist, that, when not absolutely necessary for some great and permanent benefit, the hand of man will spare these and other landmarks of ages lost perhaps for ever in the night of time. Last summer, in company with Colonel Lane Fox, I had an opportunity of examining many of these remains, and after considerable difficulty in some instances we got into the crypts and made accurate measurements and drawings of the subterranean chambers, from which investigations we came to the conclusion that there are, or where the earth has fallen in, crypts in all of them. The entrance into some was about the centre, into others from outside of the circumvallation, of which there are frequently two, and sometimes the remains of a third. They are mostly round; but occasionally one of square form is to be met with. A rath has been defined to be "an ancient fortress of the Irish chiefs"; and is a very interesting specimen of certain Celtic modes of living. Like the British oppidum described by Caesar, the rath was a large circular enclosure on elevated ground; and not unfrequently in the bosom of woods. About the beginning of May, having got permission from Mr. Horace Townsend, we turned our attention to one of the most interesting and perfect forts in this part of the county. About three miles north of Blarney is a fort called Lisnaratha. It is 95 paces⁽¹⁾ in diameter between the foot of the interior, and excavated to the depth of six feet. The entire substrata was composed of burnt stones and pieces of charcoal. These tumuli are common to all nations. The mode of cooking common to all nations in their infancy was by heating a quantity of stones and placing them upon the flesh or fish till half baked, and upon this they subsisted.

"We next proceeded to the lands of Garrane, parish of Donoughmore, on the estate of Mr. Jonas Stawell, who kindly permitted us to make any researches in the forts on his lands. The first fort we examined was called by the country people Luchlanic, or Lerhulig. They say that this word in the old Irish tongue signifies "the Danes," giving some colour to the popular but erroneous impression that the earthworks were raised by these people. Measured as was Lisnaratha, Luchlanic is 57 paces in diameter, the ditch 36 feet wide, and an outer parapet without a ditch 15 feet wide. We found no crypt in Luchlanic. Quite adjacent to it is a small fort called Lisdubh, or the Black Fort, which was so thickly covered over with brushwood that it defied our picks and spades. At a distance it looked like a dark spot on the beautifully rich and verdant fields that surrounded it. Next we visited Lis-Ard, or the High Fort. This rath stands up boldly from the ground; and is a conspicuous object all round that part of the

(1) A pace is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Cashel fort near Inishannon is perhaps the largest in Ireland. It is of oval form, and in two lines, the outer 900 feet by 1140. The inner, at a distance of 150 feet from the outer, which is quite exceptional. The fort is on the crest of a high hill, and commands the country for miles around.

country. It is 23 paces in diameter, interior slope 15 feet, exterior slope 24 feet, measured along the slopes, which are at an angle of about 45 degrees. Another fort, called Jack Dick's Fort, is near Mr. Stawell's farm. It is 51 paces in diameter. A very massive pillar stone with an Ogham inscription stands just outside the gap on the north side. Further on is Lisanisky, or the Water Fort, which is surrounded with a deep moat full of water. This fort has been thickly planted, which has a pleasing effect. A brook flows at a short distance from Lisanisky, immediately opposite which is an ancient well, called Tubber-Lachteen, or the well of Lachteen, containing a beautiful spring, continually bubbling up. Dr. Smith, in his "History of Cork," says that St. Lachteen was the patron saint of Donoughmore. In the "Martyrology of Donegal"—a Calendar of the Saints of Ireland, Lachteen is mentioned at July 26th. There is another of the same name, May 1st; but Dr. Reeves (one of the editors of the Martyrology) considered the 1st of August to be the most probable day.

"Not far from this locality we were pointed out the site of some subterranean chambers called by the people "Poul-fe-tallif, which signifies a "hole under ground"; one in the grounds of Mr. Stawell, another in a field north of the well, but separated from it by the high road. Mr. Stawell kindly got some of his workmen to open the one on his farm. It was a crypt covered with large flags; but as the entrance was discovered a few days before, the labourers had partly filled it with stones collected from the field. On entering it we found a rude chamber constructed of loose stones, without any cement, kept in position by the immense flags that form the roof. It was 5 feet 3 inches in depth; at the base of the wall facing south was a small passage about 1 foot 8 inches square, leading into a little oval cell, about 2 feet broad, in which were two small pillars of waterworn stones. Whether they communicated with any other crypt we were unable to ascertain. The one north of the well, however, afforded a better opportunity for examination. It was entered on one side of a broad earthen ditch by a small aperture which led into an apartment 9 feet by 3 feet 4 inches, and 4 feet high, similarly constructed; on the west was a narrow passage, 6 feet by 1 foot 4 inches; these did not appear to lead any further. On the east was another small passage covered with flags, 3 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 6 inches, and 1 foot 2 inches in height, which we ascertained led into some other recess that we found on the other side of the ditch. It was covered with very large flags, insomuch that it took five men with bars to remove one of them so as to allow a small passage for the body to get through. Here we found a similar chamber, 9 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 2 inches, and 5 feet in height. We explored another about a mile from this place. The chambers in the last two were oval in form. These all possessed the same characteristics, and were evidently constructed by the same people. There was no appearance of a mound having ever existed over them.

"The country people possess no traditions respecting these chambers; if they were places of sepulture no trace of burial remained. Several conjectures were made as to their use, such as cells for hermits, hiding places for treasure, etc.; but no satisfactory conclusion could be come at. In the mountain of Garrane, on the slope of Knockencragh, are a stone circle, a fort, and also a cave. Giraldus Cambrensis appears to have been one of the earliest foreigners who mentions fortifications constructed by the Northmen (or Danes) in Ireland; but that these fortifications were in existence many centuries before the arrival of the Northmen in Ireland can be proved from the fact of their being mentioned in the very early Annals of Ireland.

"We next turned our attention to the examination of the floors of some caves that came occasionally under our observation. This enquiry was mainly suggested by the discoveries lately made in certain of the caves in France. We did not, of course, expect to reap so rich a harvest as Messrs. Christie and Lartet in the caves of Les Eysies, where the floor was overlaid with a continuous sheet of breccia, composed of a basis of cinders, mingled with charcoal, fragments of bones, etc., forming one consolidated mass. On the 21st of June we made a minute examination of the caves at Ovens (near Douglas). On entering the cave we first penetrated the passage leading to the right, and dug into the ground in several places. Some branches were so low that we had to creep into them. The floor of this part of the cave we found to consist of stalactite, on breaking through which we found several bones and some vertebrae firmly embedded in the stalactite floor. On examination they turned out to be the bones of the wolf, the boar, and some of them human remains. We turned our course next towards the main branch, and after about a furlong through a tortuous passage, with water varying from two to three feet deep, and a muddy bottom, we eventually arrived at a large square chamber like the passage—a natural excavation in the limestone rock. One side of this chamber was particularly smooth and well shaped; but the whole was covered with soot, and bore evident marks of having been at sometime subjected to the action of fire. It showed also the graffiamentos of former visitors. In the centre of this chamber was a square pile of stones, about 4 feet high, on the top of a large flag. Around this structure we dug, and about a foot beneath the surface we found bones mixed with charcoal and lime deposits—probably from the droppings of the roof; we also found a mussel shell among the debris. That this cave was inhabited at a remote period there can from these evidences be no doubt, and by a tribe of savages similar in all probability in their mode of living to those who dwelt in the caves in France. On the right, before you enter the chamber, is a beautiful spring well in a natural basin of the rock, which appears to be of some depth. On each side of the main branch were other passages leading off; but on this occasion we did not deem it prudent to enter any of them.

"Before concluding this subject I may observe that it is not unusual to find an ancient church within the precincts of a rath. A few years ago on digging a grave in the churchyard of Dunbulloge, about four miles north of Cork, a crypt was discovered, on examining which, a few days after, I was rewarded by finding two bee-hive compartments connected by a low passage. I could just stand up in the chambers, which were very regularly constructed of small stones placed endways in some kind of cement like soft earth. A long passage covered with flags ran upon a westerly direction from the inner chamber, which may originally have been the entrance. The ruins of the church stood just over the crypt. The church of Kilbrogan in this town (Bandon), the first church built in Ireland for Protestant worship, was built on the site of one of these forts.

"Not long ago, wrote Morlot, we should have smiled at the idea of reconstructing the bygone days of our race previous to the beginning of history properly so-called. The void was partly filled up by representing that antehistorical antiquity as having been only of short duration; and partly by exaggerating the value of those vague and confused notions which constitute tradition. But before the beginning of history there was life and industry, of which various monuments, like the raths, still exist, while others lie buried in the soil, much as we found the organic remains of former creations entombed in the strata comprising the crust of the globe. Antiquities enact here a similar

part to that of fossils; and if Cuvier calls the geologist an antiquary of the new order, we can reverse this remarkable saying, and consider the antiquary a geologist applying his method to reconstruct the past ages of mankind previous to all recollection, and work out what may be termed prehistoric history."

[It would be interesting to learn if the remains, other than the caves, referred to in the preceding paper by Dr. Caulfield are still in being.]

The June, 1865, number of the "Gentleman's Magazine" contains the reports of two meetings of the Cork Cuvierian Society, one held on the previous 4th of January, at which Dr. Caulfield made some very touching allusions to the recent death of Professor Boole, of the Cork Queen's College. These will be found appended to a sketch of Dr. Boole which appears on page 69 of this "Journal." At the February meeting of the Cuvierian Society he read nearly two pages of extracts from a volume amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum Library. This volume, Dr. Caulfield stated, contains what appear to be private notes of the state of Munster during the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the work there could be no doubt of some intelligent officer in her service at that time. In the same volume, page 234, is a series of events described as "Irish Matters, 1578 extending to the year 1582." These melancholy details, Dr. Caulfield remarked in conclusion, are "I presume familiar to most students of Irish history, but as I found them recorded in one of the most extensive and valuable collections of manuscripts in this kingdom, I considered them worth bringing before the notice of this (the Cork Cuvierian) Society."

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for June, 1865, and August, 1865, Dr. Caulfield gave further instalments of his "Early Charters Relating to the City and County of Cork." These he evidently meant to continue, but these last two were his final contributions under that heading in the "Gentleman's Magazine." In its issue for September, 1865, appeared his account of two meetings of the Cuvierian Society held on the 1st of March and the 5th of April previous. At the former Dr. Caulfield exhibited the Original Invoice of the present Insignia of the Corporation of Cork, and also, on behalf of the Rev. F. Dobbin, of St. Finbarr's, four small manuscript works, entitled "Sketches of Cork and its Environs, with plates, etc., in 1813." These little works (whose present whereabouts one would like to discover) were, he said, the result of the labours of two schoolfellows, one of whom afterwards bore a high reputation as an artist, the other a distinguished writer of the "History of the County Cork," whose names Dr. Caulfield does not give, but were probably Maclise and Crofton Croker. At the April Cuvierian meeting Dr. Caulfield called attention to the local associations of an ancient Irish manuscript called "The Vision of Mac Conglinne." This curious tract has, however, been brought out in book form (London, D. Nutt) by that distinguished Celtic scholar, Professor Kuno Meyer, of Liverpool, so that it will not be necessary to reproduce Dr. Caulfield's interesting disquisition in connection with it.

The "Gentleman's Magazine" for November, 1865, contains his account of the Cuvierian Society's meeting held on the previous 3rd of May, at which he read a communication on behalf of Professor Harkness, F.R.S., on the subject of a recent discovery of fragments of bones and teeth in a limestone quarry at Midleton. He also exhibited a peculiar ancient iron key, found under one of the old piers of Fermoy bridge, then lately removed. At this meeting that once well-known Cork antiquarian collector, the Rev. Dr. Neligan, exhibited a reliquary which appears to have been connected with Cork. To this reliquary was attached a certificate that it was given by a Rev. Dr. De La Roche Focauld

to "Dermod Carty, an Irish priest of Cork, in the City of Reggio, in Lombardy, on the Festival of St. Patrick, 1601."

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for January, 1866, appeared the following brief paragraph:—Cork Cuvierian Society, October 4th, 1865, Mr. Caulfield exhibited, on the part of Z. Hawkes, Esq., a silver ring with a carbuncle on what was an engraved head, bearing so striking a resemblance to those on Hiberno-Danish coins as to lead some competent authorities to pronounce its antiquity to be at least of the twelfth century. The setting was modern compared with the intaglio, which was said to bear the image of Sihtric, one of the Danish Kings of Dublin."

The above was the last of Dr. Caulfield's contributions to the "Gentleman's Magazine." From that out he no doubt devoted himself almost entirely to the preparation and production of his three valuable and voluminous Council Books of Youghal, Kinsale, and Cork.

J. C.

THE END.

James Cavanah Murphy.

[THAT a poor uneducated youth should raise himself from the humble position of a bricklayer to become a distinguished architect, traveller, author, and diplomatist, would be considered a remarkable career, even in this era of self-made men; whilst the difficulties attendant on success of this sort were, of course, infinitely greater in the eighteenth century than now, and more particularly so in the case of a native of Ireland. And yet, James Cavanah Murphy's memorable life story in this way is scarcely known in the country in which he was born; and our local historian, Windele, disposes of it in little more than half a dozen lines. In the paper on "Old Cork Artists" contributed by the present writer to vol. vi., No. 46., of this "Journal," I supplied what was merely a bibliographical sketch of him, derived chiefly from Crofton Croker's writings; but happening subsequently to discover in the "Gentleman's Magazine" that some account of James Cavanah Murphy was to be found in vol. vi. of John Nichols' "Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century," published by J. B. Nichols and Son, London, 1831, from the British Museum copy of this work my friend, Mr. J. King, H.M.C., has kindly taken the biographical particulars I have reproduced in the present paper, which are supplemented by some further details from the notice of James Cavanah Murphy given in vol. xxix. of that most valuable work, the "Dictionary of National Biography," from which we likewise learn that Murphy, like the famous painter, Maclise, later on, owed his first start in life to the generous patronage of an enlightened, broad-minded, and public-spirited resident Cork citizen.—J. C.]

In the Nichols' volume above-named, it is stated on page 442, that the preceding letters, which it published (i.e., five letters from James Murphy, Lisbon, to his patron, the Rt. Hon. W. B. Conyngham), have been copied from a small quarto copybook which Mr. Murphy used in Portugal; now (1831) in the possession of T. Crofton Croker, Esq., F.S.A. To that gentleman, who has recently presented to the Society of Antiquaries of London the original drawings of Mr. Murphy's magnificent work on Batalha, the Editor (J. Nichols) is indebted for

these pleasing illustrations of Mr. Conyngham's liberal patronage of rising merit ; and of the earliest efforts and adventures of a man who afterwards attained considerable reputation both as a traveller and an architect, viz., J. C. Murphy.

James Cavanah Murphy was a native of Blackrock, near Cork, and originally a bricklayer in that city, where his talents for drawing—it is said in caricaturing his master with a burnt stick upon the wall—attracted the notice and procured the patronage of the late Sir James Chatterton, Bart. He was thus enabled to visit the Irish metropolis, and there introduced to Mr. Conyngham, by whose encouragement he proceeded to Portugal. Whilst abroad he acquired a competent knowledge of the Portuguese and Spanish languages; and held for a short time a diplomatic situation of importance from the court of Portugal to that of Spain. During a residence of some years in the Peninsula, he pursued his professional studies with the most devoted and persevering attention, of which his works afford abundant testimony. The titles of three of these have been given in p. 431 ; but there was besides a posthumous publication (in 1816) entitled "Arabian Antiquities in Spain" (on whose title page Mr. Murphy's name of Cavanah first appears), which exceeds in magnificence his previous works, and indeed is equalled by few architectural publications which this country has produced. It contains 98 plates, on a very large folio. On this work Mr. Murphy was employed for the last fourteen years of his life ; the former seven of which were spent in Spain, and the latter at home. This appears from the preface.

In illustration of Mr. Murphy's work, the same booksellers (Messrs. Cadell and Davies) published a quarto volume, entitled "The History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain, containing a general history of the Arabs, etc., designed as an introduction to Arabian Antiquities of Spain, by James Cavanah Murphy, Architect," 1816.⁽¹⁾

After his return to England, Mr. Murphy was engaged with the Admiralty in a correspondence respecting the dry rot ; and that Board appears to have paid particular attention to his proposition ; but the exorbitant terms which he demanded delayed the experiments, and the disclosure of his plans was frustrated by his death, which took place in Edward Street, Cavendish Square, September 12, 1814. From some of Mr. Murphy's memoranda it appears that when in Portugal he had his attention drawn to the circumstance that those vessels which had received their first cargo of salt, were free from the destructive disease which was the object of his research ; and it is probable his ideas were derived from this circumstance.

An accumulation of notes and drawings which Mr. Murphy left behind him are (1831) in the possession of Thomas Deane, Esq., now sheriff of Cork ; and, notwithstanding the labour bestowed on his publications, it is only by inspecting these remains, that an adequate idea can be formed of his industry, and of the minute and careful manner in which every object is detailed.

From the D. N. B. we learn that James Cavanah Murphy was born of obscure parents, at Blackrock, near Cork, in 1760, and that he early made his way to Dublin for study, for his name appears in a list of the pupils of the Dublin Society's drawing school, 1775, as working in miniature chalk and crayon. He afterwards practised in Dublin, and in 1786 was one of seven architects who were consulted as to the additions to the (Irish?) House of Commons. To him and another was entrusted the execution of James Gandon's design for the work. In December, 1788, William Burton Conyngham desired him to make drawings for him of the great Dominican church and monastery of Batalha ; and he accordingly proceeded to Portugal. He was back in Dublin in 1790,

and was in England at the end of that year. In 1802 he went to Cadiz, where he remained seven years studying Moorish architecture, and occasionally performing some diplomatic duties.

Settling in England in 1809, he spent his time in preparing for the press his "Notes on Arabian Architecture"; but only a portion of the book had been printed when he died on September 12th, 1814, in Edward Street, now Lower Seymour Street, Cavendish Square, London.

James Cavanah Murphy died unmarried, and left at his death £5,000, which went to his sister, Hannah, wife of Bernard MacNamara. His published works were:—

1. "Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Views of the Church of Batalha." To which is prefixed an "Introductory Discourse on the Principles of Gothic Architecture," 27 plates, London, 1795—1836. A history and description of the Church, by Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, translated by Murphy, occupies pp. 27—57. A German translation of the "Discourse on Gothic Architecture" was published at Darmstadt in 1828.
2. "Travels in Portugal," London, 1796, with a portrait after a painting by his countryman, Sir Martin Archer Shee. Of this a German translation was published at Hallé in 1796 as the sixth volume of "Auswahl der Besten Ausländischen . . . Nachrichten," and a French translation by Lallemand, Paris, 1797.
3. "General View of the State of Portugal," London, 1798.
4. "Arabian Antiquities of Spain," 110 plates, from drawings by James Cavanah Murphy. The work was edited and the descriptions written by T. Hartwell Horne. A "History of the Mahometan Empire," by J. Shakespeare, T. H. Horne, and John Gillies, designed as an Introduction to Murphy's book was published at London in 1816.

Webb's "Compendium of Irish Biography" states that no particulars of the life of James Cavanah Murphy are attainable, having depended solely on Allibone's "Dictionary of Authors"—a work which speaks of Murphy's "Arabian Antiquities of Spain" as one "it would be difficult to say too much in commendation of"; and which quotes Dibdin as having said that Murphy's name was "united with all tender and honourable reminiscences," and that he "fell a victim to his labours."

In a paper by Mr. M. J. C. Buckley, of Youghal, the Batalha monastery abovenamed, it is stated, was founded for the Dominicans by King John the First of Portugal after his victory over John the First, King of Castile, on the 11th of August 1385. The most beautiful portion of this famous edifice at Batalha (or Battle), viz., the Founder's Chapel, wherein repose Don John I. and wife, Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, is due, Mr. Buckley further states, to the genius of an Irish architect, Mestre Vgado, or David Hackett, the master mason, or magister operis, of the building, the tracery of whose windows, the curious interlacing arcades on the walls, and the moulding of the arches, Mr. Buckley found to bear a close resemblance to the details of the windows in the now ruined abbey of Holy Cross, Co. Tipperary.

J. C.

(2) Murphy, the D.N.B. further states, took out a patent in 1813 for a method of preserving timber and other substances from decay. In the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects is a large folio volume of his drawings of Arabesque ornaments, and one drawing, his design, for the completion of the monument to King Emmanuel, is in the possession of the British Museum. Murphy's manuscript drawings, with sketches of buildings in Liverpool, Chester, Manchester, York, Cambridge, and Fly, are also it would appear from D.N.B. in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London.

Notes and Queries.

LOCAL HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, FOLK-LORE, ETC.

Contributed by Sigma Tau: WALLOONS IN CLONMEL.

C. Tenison: JONES.

R.D.: COLONEL VIGORS; ROYAL CORK VOLUNTEER BANQUET, 1799; STREET BALLADS.

Courtenay Moore, Canon M.A.: SOME DISTINGUISHED CORKMEN.

J.C.: CORK LIGHTHOUSES; AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY O'SULLIVAN BEARE; GENERAL ARTHUR O'CONNOR; WILLIAM GREATRAKES, A REPUTED AUTHOR OF THE "LETTERS OF JUNIUS;" PROFESSOR BOOLE OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.

J. Buckley: ARTHUR O'LEARY, "THE OUTLAW"; SHOPKEEPERS, TRADERS, ETC., OF MITCHELSTOWN, 80 YEARS AGO.

Walloons in Clonmel.—In 1667, the Duke of Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant, invited over several families of Walloons from England, to settle in Clonmel and introduce there the woollen manufacture. Several came and started the industry, which flourished for many years. Can any of our readers supply the names of these settlers?

SIGMA TAU.

Jones.—In an old Query I find a thrilling account of an attack made by the rebels, in 1798, on the house of Mr. Jones, of Keatley's Close, near Mallow, and of the brave defence made by him and a young girl, his niece, a Miss Turner. I would be glad to know something of this Mr. Jones and Miss Turner.

Hobart, 24th Nov., 1903.

C. TENISON.

Colonel Vigors.—It is with deep regret we announce the loss which Irish archæology has sustained in the death of Colonel Philip Doyne Vigors, of Holloden, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow, who passed away on December 30, 1903, in his 78th year. His name is best known in connection with the "Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead," of which, in 1888, he was the founder. Its journal, published quarterly, was profusely illustrated with copies of inscriptions, photographs and rubbings from far away lonely graveyards and ruined abbeys. With amazing energy and zeal, and by his own force of character, he inspired others with his own spirit, and they, scattered over the country from Sherkin to the Causeway, were instrumental in saving many monuments from destruction; and placing on record inscriptions which in a few years, from climatic changes, would have been obliterated and lost. Colonel Vigors was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland, and a valued contributor to its journal. He was also engaged upon a work on Irish Church plate, which was all but ready for the printer's hands. This, we hope, will be published in the near future. He was a past high sheriff of the county Carlow, and commanded the 19th Regt. of Foot when stationed in Canada. We are glad to know it is the intention of the Council of the Society to carry on the work which he commenced, and continued till his death.

Royal Cork Volunteer Banquet, 1799.—I am indebted to Colonel The O'Donovan, D.L., of Lissard, for the privilege of seeing a quarto pamphlet of 12 pp., three of which are introductory, and the remaining nine devoted to 21 verses of poetry, with "Notes critical and explanatory. Copied from the 'Cork Advertiser, or Commercial Register,' of Thursday, the 7th day of November, 1799."

It describes an entertainment that was given at the King's Arms Tavern on the 5th of November, 1799, by the Royal Cork Volunteers, to General Myers, commanding the district, and to other public characters in the city. The most perfect unanimity and good order prevailed, and the banquet must have commenced early and ended late, as the toasts numbered no less than twenty-one, and would have taken a considerable time to get through. They were as follows:—

"The King, and may God preserve and bless him"—on which God Save the King was sung in a very superior style by the gentlemen who composed the band of the corps.

"The pious, glorious, and immortal memory"—here Rule Britannia was sung.

"Lord Spencer and the Navy"—here the Navy and Army of Britain was sung by Mr. Prittie, in a style which exceeds all praise.

"The Duke of York and the Army"—the British Grenadiers by a military band.

"Mr. Pitt."

"The Earl of Clare, the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland."

"Lord Shannon."

"Major-General Myers and the Garrison of Cork"—here General Myers, after paying some handsome compliments to the principles and conduct of the corps, begged leave to give the following toast—

"The Royal Cork Volunteers and the 5th of November: health, long life, unanimity, and prosperity to them."

"Our revered friend, Lord Camden, the Father of the Loyal Yeomanry of Ireland."

"General Lake and the Army of Ireland."

"Mayor and Corporation of Cork."

Colonel Longfield, our representative, and the City of Cork, and success to him"—here Colonel Longfield expressed the very high value he placed on the good opinion of so respectable and loyal a body of men, and observed, he preferred having one loyal vote to a thousand others.

"Colonel Rynton of the Berwick Cavalry"—Colonel Rynton thanked the Company, and assured them the Berwick Cavalry which he then had the honour to command would at all times be happy to be led by the Royal Cork Volunteers, to act with them, or to lead them, whichever the service should require.

"Colonel Cole-Hamilton and our firm friends of the Royal Tyrone Regiment"—Colonel Hamilton in a neat manner expressed the satisfaction he felt at finding the conduct of the Tyrone Regiment had met with the approbation of the loyal citizens of Cork.

"Colonel O'Hara and the Antrim Regt.—Colonel O'Hara said he felt highly flattered by the favourable opinion entertained of the regiment by so respectable a society, and he could answer for their endeavours to merit a continuance of it.

Proposed by Captain Hickman—"Collector Shaw and the trade of Cork." The Collector here said he felt extremely honoured by the notice so kindly taken of him, and if anything could add to this compliment it was joining his name with the many loyal toasts they had given this evening.

"The glorious Revolution, and may we never see another."

"George Ogle."

Captain Westropp having here retired, General Myers took the chair, and gave

"The Father of the Cork Volunteers"; "Colonel Massey and the 35th Regiment"; the final toast being "Our Worthy Fellow-citizen, Alderman Shaw."

The verses written upon this banquet are imbued with a strong spice of

sarcasm, and are studded with personal and uncomplimentary remarks, which would possibly give pain, and are excluded ; but the two first are given as a mild example of the remainder :—

"Ye good men of Cork, all attend to my story,
'Twill strike you with wonder, and inspire you with glory ;
Deeds so renowned, and joys so inviting,
Are surely much better than boxing or fighting.

On the fifth of November, to commemorate Gunpowder Plot,
Mick and his Rasps⁽¹⁾ were altogether got,
With Generals and Colonels and men great in the City,
To eat and to drink, to toast and be witty."

Street Ballads.—The street ballads published in Cork during the first half of the last century were printed on strips of paper about three inches wide, and from twelve to eighteen inches long, having wood-block headings to illustrate the subject of the ballad, which was sometimes sung as a duet, but more generally as a solo. While the singer had usually an admiring crowd of appreciative and attentive listeners, there were others who considered his stentorian efforts as a nuisance, among whom was the Recorder, who, Boyle of the "Cork Freeholder" (Sept. 30, 1824) tells us, "felt great annoyance at the ballad singers." As in every other profession, among these artists there existed various degrees of merit, both in good voices and the reverse, in popular ballads with a lively chorus that charmed the crowd, and funeral dirges that brought passing dogs to a stand and made them howl in unison with the singer's highest note. Among the first class was a man who took Cork in his rounds, and who sung "Russell's Hunt," a panegyric on the Russell family of the county Limerick, which was set to the air of "Modderreen a rhue" (the Little Red Fox). This man had a loud, sonorous voice that suited the ring of the fine old hunting tune. These memories are recalled by a little group of ballads, eight in number, two of which are without printer's name or abode, the remainder have the imprint of "J. and H. Baird, Printers, 21 Paul St., Cork, where ballad singers, country dealers, and shop-keepers can be well supplied with ballads, and all kinds of printing work executed." The titles of the ballads are suggestive. Two are political, the remainder amatory and descriptive :—

1. "A new song on the successful Candidate, Counsellor O'Connell, the Man of the People. Tune, Maureen na Guberlane."
2. "Counsellor O'Connell's Return to Parliament."
3. "A Favourite old Song called Old Adam."
4. "Shaun O'Regan's Portion."
5. "The Green Linnet."
6. "Pretty Polly of Carlow, a new Song."
7. "The Royal Blackbird."
8. "The distress of the [ship] American, New York."

No. 3 has what is intended to be a representation of the Garden of Eden enclosed in a rail fence, and with a modern dwelling house, displaying a high-

(1) Rasps is a name given to the Royal Cork Volunteers by their Commander, Michael Westropp, Esquire, of the City of Cork, Wine Merchant. It is witty of the worthy Captain, but is by no means taken in the general acceptance of the term, but we can vouch they are not all "Raps."

pitched roof, glass windows, and Adam, clothed in the dress of the nineteenth century, standing in the open hall door. The ballad is a poetical account of the Creation of Man, four lines of which will convey an idea of the whole :

"Then Adam was laid in a slumber,
In which he lost part of his side ;
And when he awoke, he with wonder,
Beheld his most beautiful Bride."

No. 5 is composed of six verses, each of which ends with a dolorous lament for the Emperor Napoleon—"Sweet Boney, I will ne'er see you more."

No. 6 is eulogistic of a Carlow beauty—

"The Roses are handsome when they're in their prime
And so is pretty Polly, that true love of mine."

No. 8 relates the departure from Sligo of the ship "America," with sixty passengers, which, after a most eventful passage, arrived at New York in a battered condition.

"Oh! then our Pilot tacked about
The wind blew a fresh gale,
And overboard our main-mast went,
We lost our whole top-sail."

Ballads such as these were in great request at a time when newspapers were sixpence each, and beyond the reach of many. The illiterate audience heard the songs in which they delighted, and carried both words and airs away in their memories, while their better informed companions paid for the ballads, but rarely preserved them.

R. D.

Some Distinguished Corkmen.—JAMES JOSEPH CALLANAN, a poet, was born in Cork in 1795. Intended for the priesthood, he entered Maynooth, but finding he had no vocation for the ministry of the Church, he left the college in 1816, and became a tutor in his native city. Subsequently he entered T.C.D. with a view to legal studies, a course which he also soon abandoned. His resources being completely exhausted, he enlisted, and was on the point of sailing to Malta with his regiment, the 18th Royal Irish, when some friends bought him out. In 1823 he became an assistant in the school kept by Dr. Maginn in Cork, where he remained only a few months; but through Maginn's introduction he got on the staff of "Blackwood's" and other magazines. For some six years, up to 1829, he spent most of his time in rambling through the country collecting old ballads and legends and giving them a new dress in a new tongue. His health beginning to fail early in 1829, he went to Lisbon as a tutor in a gentleman's family. Here he quickly mastered the language, and made translations of Portuguese poetry, and also prepared his own writings for publication in a collected form. His health, however, rapidly failed, and he died at Lisbon in September, 1829, at the early age of 33. He was thoroughly acquainted with the romantic legends of Ireland, and singularly happy in the grace and power of his expression. His lines on Gougane-Barra are well known. Allibone styles this poem "the most perfect perhaps of all Irish minor poems in the melody of its rhythm, the flow of its language, and the weird force of its expression."

PATRICK R. CLEBURNE, General of the Confederate Army during the American

civil war, was born near Queenstown, county Cork, on St. Patrick's Day, 1828. In 1850, after three years' service as a private in the British army he emigrated to the United States, where he settled down as a law student at Arkansas. He was in successful practice as a lawyer when the war of secession broke out early in 1861. His old military instincts at once revived: he threw up his practice at the Bar, and enlisted as a private in the Southern army. Ere long he was promoted colonel, and was specially distinguished for his conduct at the battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburgh Landing. He was wounded at the battle of Perryville. Further promotion followed quickly, he was appointed brigadier-general, major-general, and in December, 1862, he commanded a division at Murfreesburgh and Chickamauga. He distinguished himself in command of the rearguard at Mission Ridge, and received the thanks of the Confederate Congress for his defence of Ring-Gold-Gap. At Jonesboro' he covered the retreat of Hood's defeated army. General Cleburne was killed at the battle of Franklin, Tennessee, 30th November, 1864, aged 36. A marked compliment to his memory was paid by Horace Greeley, who writing of his death said: "The loss of Patrick Cleburne, the Stonewall Jackson of the West, would of itself have been a rebel disaster." Certainly the Irish are a splendid fighting race.

WILLIAM CORBET, subsequently General Corbet, was born at Ballythomas, county Cork, in August, 1779. He entered T.C.D. when only fifteen, and soon became a distinguished member of the Historical Society. He was one of the nineteen students expelled for revolutionary sympathies by Lord Clare in February, 1798. With his brother, he went to France and entered the French army. On September 10th, 1798, a descent was made on Rutland Island, Donegal, by Tandy, Corbet, and a number of other Irish refugees in a French vessel, the "Anacreon." On learning the fate of General Humbert's expedition, they embarked and returned to France after circulating some proclamations. In 1799 he was arrested at Hamburg by British agents and sent to Ireland. Here he spent two years in Kilmainham prison; he made his escape through the co-operation of some friends outside—the particulars are described by Dr. Madden. He returned to France, rejoined the army there, served in several of Napoleon's campaigns, and in 1814 had risen to the rank of colonel. In 1828 the British ambassador endeavoured to prevent his being employed in the Franco-Greek expedition. He was however appointed to the command of the citadel of Navarino, and when he returned to France, in 1837, was created major-general for his distinguished services. He died at St. Denis, August 12th, 1842, aged 63. Mr. Madden gives the following testimony as to his character: "His moral conduct was throughout his life perfectly correct: he entertained a high sense of honour, and had a deep respect for female character." A younger brother of his visited Ireland in 1875 on the occasion of the O'Connell Centenary.

COURTENAY MOORE, CANON, M.A., Council Member.

Cork Lighthouses.—A correspondent—an Irish-American no doubt—suggestively wrote to the Cork press from Boston, U.S.A., on the 8th of February, 1890, as follows:—"Having made it my business to see and sketch the principal lighthouses on the Cork coast, I must say I was well repaid for my pains by the sight of the romantic situations surrounding them; and it was a matter I much regretted to find that tourists are offered very little inducement to see them. The Cork lighthouses are situated generally on bold and massive capes, or abruptly rising rocks that look like giant sentinels guarding the coast. One especially

attracted my attention ; and I could never tire of admiring its massive outlines and general features, viz., the Bull Rock, just outside Dursey Island, on the west coast. Now, I have seen the principal scenic attractions of the United States and Canada, have visited Killarney, and admired the beautiful art of London and Paris ; but I can honestly say I have never witnessed any scene that struck me



SEA BIRDS ON THE SKELLIG ROCK, COAST OF KERRY.

as being so grand, so awe-inspiring, and so beautiful. This rock rises to the height of 300 feet above the sea-level, and the lighthouse is situated near but not quite at the top. This I believe is so, because were it at the top it might interfere with the efficacy of the Skellig Light, situated about eight miles to the north, on "the lone Skellig Rock," another fine scene. Great buttresses of rock stretch up along the sides of the "Bull," and thousands of wild sea-birds

are continually screaming around it, making an awful din, yet very musical to an admirer of what is really grand. Right in the centre of this great mass of rock runs a natural arch, fully sixty feet high, whose sides are perpendicular and parallel, and whose top is symmetrically rounded. The rock viewed from the east presents somewhat the appearance of a monster beehive; and the clouds



THE GANNET, ON THE SKELLIG ROCK.

of gulls and gannets that rest on or fly around it, only add to the simile. To me it was a sight never to be forgotten; and it seemed strange to me that with the railway and steam facilities of the Irish people at present, that excursions are not given to them in summer time." [The All Round Ireland steamer excursion of the Royal Society of Antiquaries during the summer of 1904 is expected to visit the above interesting portions of our coast.—J. C.]

An Eighteenth Century O'Sullivan Beare.—"Died on his passage from Bristol, where he had been for the recovery of his health, D. O'Sullivan, Esq., of Cameatringen, in Berehaven, Co. Cork, Captain of the Beerhaven Loyal Infantry, and the first Roman Catholic appointed to the commission of the peace in the county Cork since the reign of Queen Anne. O'Sullivan it was who in 1796, when the French fleet were in Bantry Bay, and not a military man within forty miles of his residence, assembled upwards of 2,000 of the peasantry, principally his own tenants, and watched the line of coast for eleven nights; drove off into the interior all the cattle; secreted or conveyed away the provisions, and took every other precaution to harass the enemy and deprive him of subsistence should he land. O'Sullivan it was who with a band of his peasantry made a French lieutenant and his boat's crew, on their landing, prisoners, and with no other escort conveyed them to Bantry, where General Dalrymple had then arrived with a very small force—half a regiment. The General refused to believe that the vessels in the bay were French until O'Sullivan introduced his prisoner, Lieutenant Proseau, who soon cured the general of his incredulity; and he immediately made good his retreat to Cork. O'Sullivan upon that occasion lost his pleasure-boat, which cost him 390 guineas. He sent her out to reconnoitre, but she was cut off on her return by a French frigate and sunk, and her crew made prisoners and carried to France. For these services O'Sullivan, although a Catholic, was presented with the freedom of the Corporation of Cork. The associated merchants of that city presented him with a flattering address and a handsome sword; and the Government gave him the command of a yeomanry corps. O'Sullivan, who died in his 57th year, unmarried, was universally respected and esteemed by all his acquaintances. He was descended from one of the branches of the princely house of O'Sullivan Beare, the ancient Lords of Beare and Bantry; and he possessed the Milesian virtues in an eminent degree—he was generous, good-humoured, brave, and hospitable. In him was exhibited the living model of the ancient chieftains, and his afflicted followers now mourn the hand that was never closed and the heart that was never before cold."—"Gentleman's Magazine" for March, 1814.

General Arthur O'Connor.—In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for July, 1852, is recorded the death, on the 25th of April previous, at the Chateau de Bignon, near Nemours, France, aged 89, of General Arthur O'Connor, one of the prominent actors in the Irish rebellion of 1798. He was a member of a family of considerable eminence in the county Cork, whose fortunes had been founded by his great-grandfather, Daniel Conner, a merchant in Bandon. His grandfather, William, whose wife was Anne Bernard, of the Earl of Bandon's family, built Connerville House in 1727, and was M.P. for Bandon in 1765. Arthur O'Connor was the third son of Roger Conner, of Connerville, by his wife Anne Longfield, sister of Lord Longueville. His elder brother, Roger Conner, of Connerville, the father of Feargus O'Connor, one time M.P. for Cork, and later for Nottingham, was, like Arthur, involved in political difficulties. The two brothers, Roger and Arthur, adopted the surname O'Connor instead of Conner, in accordance with a family tradition that it had been discontinued by an ancestor to escape the persecution of the English Government, but this was not followed by their nephew, the present head of the family (1852), who lives at Manch, near Dunmanway. Arthur was called to the Irish Bar in 1788. He was the favourite nephew of Lord Longueville, by whom he was returned to the Irish Parliament as M.P. for Philipstown in 1790, through whose liberality he had also been

enabled to make the European tour usual with young men of rank and fortune. On this tour he was accompanied by Mr. Standish O'Grady, who subsequently became Lord Chief Baron and Viscount Guillamore, to whom Arthur O'Connor paid a visit, and several old acquaintances, in 1834.

In the year 1795 Arthur O'Connor seriously offended his uncle, Lord Longueville, by the speech in Parliament which he made in favour of Catholic Emancipation. This led not merely to the loss of his seat, but eventually to his being disinherited, no small sacrifice, for the Longueville estates were worth £10,000 a year, which were left to the Longfield family instead of to him.

Meanwhile he became an active member of the United Irishmen, in fact, one of the five who constituted their Directory. In November, 1796, he was apprehended on a charge of high treason, and committed to Dublin Castle, but for want of proofs was shortly afterwards discharged. It was in the following month that Hoche's unsuccessful attempt at a French descent was made, shortly after which he went, with another of the Directory, and had an interview with Hoche at Frankfort. After his return, he was arrested at Margate, on the 28th of February, 1798, together with James O'Coigly, who was a priest, Binns, and another person. In the following April they were tried at the Maidstone assizes; O'Coigly was found guilty and executed on the 7th of June following, and O'Connor was acquitted, but was detained on a warrant from the Duke of Portland. Some of his friends formed a scheme to effect his escape, and the Earl of Thanet and Mr. Robert Ferguson were tried and sentenced to imprisonment for having aided in the attempt. Mr. O'Connor was sent over to Ireland, where he remained in custody for some time; but in consequence of a negotiation with the Government he and his friends made a disclosure of their plans, and they were allowed to retire to foreign countries. Arthur O'Connor accordingly took up his residence in France, where, in 1804, the First Consul, Napoleon, gave him the rank of General of Division, from which he was promoted later to Lieutenant General.

About the year 1809 he married a daughter of the distinguished mathematician, the Marquis de Condorcet, who by her mother was niece of Marshal Grouchy, to whom Napoleon imputed the disaster of Waterloo.

General O'Connor was intimate with all the persons who used to meet at the house of Mdme. Helvetius, and afterwards at M. de Tracy's; and he is said to have been the editor of the 1804 edition of Condorcet's works. He was also the author of "Letters to the Earl of Carlisle," in reply to Earl Fitzwilliam's two "Letters on the State of Ireland," 8vo., 1795; "Letters to Earl Camden," 1798; and "The Present State of Great Britain," 1804.

In his earlier days while as yet uncondemned, though known to be engaged in the rebellion, he was a principal contributor to an anti-English paper, "The Press," and he was for some time one of the conductors of "The Argus," an English journal published at Paris. In 1830, he published under the name of Condorcet O'Connor, a volume against the dethroned French royal family, and the monarchical system generally, whose style was corrected by his wife. In 1834, by permission of Earl Grey's Government, General O'Connor revisited Cork, with the view of disposing of his inherited and not confiscated property, in order to invest the proceeds in France, and he accordingly purchased from the heirs of Mirabeau the Chateau of Bignon, the birthplace of that great orator, where also he died. General O'Connor had for the previous sixteen years occupied apartments at Paris in the house of the eminent bibliographer, book-

seller and printer, M. Renouard, in the Rue de Fournier, leading to the Luxembourg.

When at Cork General O'Connor informed an old correspondent, Mr. James Roche, of that city, that he was preparing a narrative of the events of his life. This, so far, has not been published, but if in existence cannot fail to be interesting. General O'Connor's only son, Daniel, predeceased him, but left two children by his wife, who was a French lady.

William Greatrakes, a Reputed Author of the "Letters of Junius."—

A correspondent in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for December, 1812, wrote as follows:—"Have the seekers after Junius ever heard of Mr. William Greatrakes, born in the barony of Imokilly, in the County Cork, about the year 1725? One who was his friend, and states his conviction that this Greatrakes was the author of the "Letters of Junius," has permitted me to note down particulars relating to him, which I am assured are correct. Mr. Greatrakes was bred to the law, and called at the usual period to the Irish Bar. After practising for a few years, he quitted that profession; and after becoming an officer signalled himself again as a barrister by undertaking the defence of a friendless soldier upon trial for a capital offence. This circumstance led to an acquaintance with the judge, that to an introduction to the then Lord Lieutenant, and finally to an intimacy with Lord Shelburne, in whose house he was an inmate during the publication of the "Letters of Junius." He became a half-pay officer, and about 1779 retired to a small property of his own in the neighbourhood of Youghal. Here he was engaged in continual writing and much correspondence with his friend, Lord Shelburne. He died at some town in Wiltshire on his way to London. During his sickness he sent for his executor, a Captain Stopford, who had been in the 63rd Regiment of Foot, and deposited many papers in his hands." To the above the editor of the "Gentleman's Magazine" has added, in a footnote: "We have been assured that Mr. Greatrakes died at the Bear Inn in Hungerford, and that in the churchyard of that town a flat stone is thus inscribed—"Here are deposited the remains of William Greatrakes, Esq., a Native of Ireland; who on his way from Bristol to London, died in this Town, in the 52nd year of his age, on the 2d day of August, 1781. Stat Nominis Umbra."

A later correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine" (page 8, January, 1813) supplied the information that this William Greatrakes was the son of Allen Greatrakes, of Clashdermot, in the barony of Imokilly, and county of Cork, gentleman, who had three sons, viz., Osborne, the abovenamed William, and Edmond, supposed to have died young, and a daughter, Elizabeth, married to a Mr. Courtenay, of Lismore. Allen Greatrakes devised the lands of Clashdermot and Monelahan, Co. Cork, to his sons Osborne and William, of which they made a division, Osborne taking Monelahan, and William Clashdermot. Osborne Greatrakes, the eldest son, resided in Youghal, and is described sometimes as "Osborne Greatrakes, merchant, at others as Osborne Greatrakes, mariner." By his wife, Mary, he left four daughters and co-heiresses—Frances, wife of Anthony Sampis, Esq., and Mary, Catherine, and Sarah Greatrakes. This Osborne Greatrakes mortgaged his leasehold lands of Monelahan and premises in Youghal to Richard Hutcheson, Esq., by whom the mortgage was assigned to Captain Richard Tonson, M.P. for Baltimore, Co. Cork, whose descendant, the Right Hon. William Lord Riversdale, obtained a decree of court for the sale of the mortgaged premises. They were accordingly sold to Mr. Adderley Willcocks, and in the deed of conveyance the before-mentioned

William Baron Riversdale, Mary, widow of Osborne Greatrakes, Anthony Sampis and Frances, his wife, and her sisters, Mary, Catherine, and Sarah Greatrakes, are stated to be consenting parties.

William Greatrakes, the supposed Junius, is styled (in the papers in the "Gentleman's Magazine" correspondent's hands, who gives his initials as G. H. W.) "William Greatrakes, of the City of Cork, Esq." He appears to have had a leasehold property in the barony of Duhallow, which he conveyed to Thomas Chatterton, gent., of the city of Cork, viz.: "All that and those the lands of Knockanerobert, Nancy's Farm, Keel, and Milleen, situate in the parish of Culleen, barony of Duhallow, and county of Cork, containing 328 plantation acres, and also the lands of Knockigillane, in the same barony."

Happening to visit the churchyard of Killeagh in April, 1903, which lies close to the railway station of that name on the Youghal line, the present writer alighted on the tomb, a plain table or altar tomb, of the above-mentioned Allen or Alain Greatrakes, the inscription on which is in Latin. The letters being more deeply cut in than usual, it is still fairly legible.

Professor Boole of the Queen's College, Cork.—The following obituary notice of Professor Boole, is copied from the "Gentleman's Magazine" for February, 1865:—"Died, December 9th, 1864, at Blackrock, near Cork, aged 49, Dr. George Boole, F.R.S., Professor of Mathematics at the Queen's College, Cork. The deceased, who was born at Lincoln on November 4th, 1815, was the son of a tradesman, and after receiving an ordinary school education, the best his parents' limited means could afford, he entered heart and soul into the study of mathematics, under the guidance of his father, who was himself devoted to the pursuit of science, and with the assistance of the late Rev. G. S. Dickson, of St. Swithin's, Lincoln, who took great interest in the career of his pupil, and subsequently proved of essential service to him in the reading of his MSS. and the correction of his proofs.

"He became an assistant in a Doncaster school; but afterwards returned to Lincoln, where he conducted a school of his own with great success. He also gave much assistance to the committee of the Mechanics' Institute, took a leading part in the formation of its library and museum, afforded gratuitous instruction in classics and mathematics to the members, and delivered lectures of a high character, two of which were published at the time—one on 'The Genius and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton'—the other on 'The Right Use of Leisure.' The last was printed at the expense of a member of the Institute, who was so deeply impressed with its excellence as to be anxious for a wider extension of its lessons than could arise from its oral delivery.

"Mr. Boole was frequently, during this portion of his life, urged to enter himself at the University of Cambridge, where the highest honours would doubtless have been obtained by him; but he was deterred from this course by several reasons, among them by the praiseworthy feeling, that the declining years of his parents required his aid, and that the continuance of his school was essential to their comforts.

"It was during his residence at Lincoln that he first became known by his contributions to the 'Cambridge and Dublin Mathematical Journal.' The great abilities shown in these papers led to high expectations of his future career; and these expectations were further heightened by the publication of 'The Mathematical Analysis of Logic.' Those who take an interest in the progress of mathematical studies were therefore sincerely gratified when they heard, little

more than ten years since, that Mr. Boole, though not a member of any University, had been chosen to be the Professor of Mathematics at the Queen's College, Cork.

"The post was one which Mr. Boole was eminently fitted to adorn; and at the same time it gave him better opportunities of prosecuting his favourite studies. Soon after his appointment he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of Dublin, and in 1854 he published the first fruits of his professoriate in an 'Investigation of the Laws of Thought, on which are founded the Mathematical Theories of Logic and Probabilities.' The subject of this volume was continued in a manner in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh,' 'On the Combination of Testimonies and of Judgment'; and soon afterwards, when he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, he resumed the subject in a paper, 'On the Theory of Probabilities,' read before the Society on the 19th of June, 1862, and since published in the 'Philosophical Transactions.' In the meanwhile, he wrote his book on 'Differential Equations,' which has since become a class book in Cambridge University. He was engaged in the preparation of a second edition of this work at the time of his death; and he spent part of his last summer vacation in London (ransacking the treasures of the Royal Society and the British Museum) that this book might be as perfect as possible.

"In 1855 Dr. Boole married Miss M. Everest, daughter of the late Rev. T. R. Everest, rector of Wickwar, Gloucestershire, and niece of Dr. Ryall, Vice-President of the Queen's College, as also of Colonel Everest, of the Engineers, so highly distinguished by his Indian surveys that the highest peak of the Himalayas, Mount Everest, has received its name from him. This lady was possessed of high scientific attainments, and she was a most efficient assistant in his labours. These labours were, however, too ardently pursued by him, and his naturally weak constitution gave way after a brief illness from congestion of the lungs, leaving at his death a family of five daughters, all of tender age.

"The labours of Professor Boole, said one who knew him well, were undertaken in pure love of science, and with no thought of winning honour and renown; but their value was recognised throughout the kingdom, and by the foremost mathematicians upon the Continent. But Professor Boole, though a devoted student of exact science, recognised the limits of scientific method. Nowhere are these limits with greater clearness defined than in his work on 'The Laws of Thought,' which has been sometimes deemed an undue extension of mathematical processes. He, himself, delighted equally in mathematics, in poetry, and in metaphysics; and the range of his knowledge in each was of the widest order. His acquaintance with the literature of the modern world was singularly extensive. He was a great lover of Dante; and it may not be deemed trifling to mention that he esteemed the 'Paradiso' more than the 'Inferno'; and if the width of his culture was great, no one can read 'The Laws of Thought' without being struck by the profoundly religious spirit in which he worked out his favourite studies. But the quality which, perhaps, most marked him out from his fellows was an intellectual modesty such as he once described as 'inseparable from a pure devotion to truth.' It was not that he was unduly shy or retiring, but that he appeared absolutely insensible to his claims upon the attention of others."

At a meeting of the Professors of the Cork Queen's College, held December 17th, it was resolved to commemorate this eminent man by founding a Boole Mathematical Scholarship, and by a further memorial of him within the College.

At the meeting of the Cork Cuvierian Society, held on the 4th of January, 1864, Dr. Caulfield, its President, paid the following eloquent and touching tribute to the memory of Professor Boole:—"Probably in few individuals could a greater diversity of tastes and talents be found centered than in him. No subject was ever brought under our notice that he was not only familiar with, but he illustrated it with the results of his own great experience, or the practical application of his reasoning mind. Ever ready to do good, he never considered his exalted intellect humbled by entering even into the very minute details which must occasionally spring up in man's converse with man; but robing even the humblest idea in the majesty of his own thoughts, he made strong the weakness of others. It is now over fifteen years since Dr. Boole became a member of our Society, during which period he has been a very constant attendant at our meetings; and little did we think when we met here on the 7th of last month that death had then fixed his icy grasp on this illustrious victim, and that his warfare here below was well-nigh accomplished. In the year 1855 Dr. Boole was President of the Society, on which occasion he delivered an able address at the conversazione, which was held in the Athenaeum under our direction, which was attended by over 2,500 people during the three days its vast collections in the departments of science and art were open to an intelligent public. Dr. Boole's chief contributions to our Society were some mathematical papers, which I believe afterwards appeared in one of the English philosophical journals; a memoir of Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1253; and a biographical sketch of John Walsh, a Cork mathematician, who, had he guided his talents by the laws of reason and prudence, would have effected much for science, at whose shrine he sacrificed no inconsiderable genius. An able writer and expounder of the highest branches of human learning, with a wide-world reputation, Dr. Boole's unassumed humility endeared him to all, for he was humble even as a little child. His gigantic intellect, which could detect the laws that govern thought, he could bring down to a level with the feeblest capacity, and rejoice when he effected any good. Cut off in the meridian splendour of a life devoted to a career of usefulness, both in public and private, the country of his birth mourns for him, the land of his adoption looks down with sorrow on his tomb. He was thus called away from us suddenly. Unavailing is now our praise. In the silence of the grave it cannot charm the cold, dull ear of death; yet we owe this humble tribute to the worth of one whose counsel we respected, and of whose presence amongst us we ever felt proud."

J. C.

Arthur O'Leary, "the Outlaw."—In her two entertaining and gossiping volumes, entitled, "The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade," London, 1892, Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell says: "I hope some time or other to publish my long account of the tragedies of Murty Oge O'Sullivan Beare and Arthur O'Leary" (vol. ii., p. 239). Can any reader inform me if this account has been published, and if so, where?

Shopkeepers, Traders, etc., of Mitchelstown, 80 years ago.—In last No. of the "Journal" (p. 231), Canon Moore appended a note to his interesting paper shewing the industries that flourished in Mitchelstown early in the last century, with which the following list of the principal business people in the town, taken from Pigot & Co.'s Directory for 1824, bears an inseparable connection. At the time Pigot's Direc-

tory—the first of its kind to supply such local information relating to Ireland—was compiled, Upper and Lower Cork Street, to which the business of the town has since gravitated, did not exist. The lord of the manor, some years after, in order to remove the small and unsightly buildings from the vicinity of his outer walls, granted sites on the Southern side of the old town, on long leases subject to moderate ground rents, on which the double line of houses forming these cheerless, wind-swept streets, in course of time, sprung up.

Atkins, Thomas, bleacher, Baldwin st.	McCarthy, Walter, baker and corn factor
Barry, Thomas, jun. tanner, Baldwin st.	McDaniel, John, leather cutter, George st.
Browne, Mary, baker and grocer, George st.	McGrath, Denis, saddler, George st.
Clancy, Mark, dyer, Baldwin st.	McGrath, John, spirit store, Baldwin st.
Condon, Martin, blacksmith, George st.	Magner, William, spirit store, Baldwin st.
Condon, Maurice, publican, George st.	Mahony, James, apothecary, George st.
Connell, Michael, woollen draper, George street.	Mahony, James, linen draper, George st.
Corbett, John, spirit store, George st.	Martin, Benjamin, wool comber, George street.
Couch, Aaron, boot and shoe maker, Baldwin st.	Matthews, Edmund, spirit store, Baldwin st.
Daly, Charles, spirit store, George st.	Moynihan, Timothy, spirit store, George street.
Dobbins, Thomas, boot and shoe maker, Baldwin st.	O'Brien, Edward, grocer and leather seller, George st.
Donnelly, John, grocer, etc., Square	O'Brien, J., woollen draper, George st.
Farrell, William, spirit store, Baldwin st.	O'Donovan, Cornelius, tobacconist, Square
Featherstone, Margaret, earthenware dealer, George st.	O'Keeffe, Jeremiah, spirit store, George street.
Fennell, Paul, spirit store, Baldwin st.	O'Mara, Margaret, tobacconist and spirit dealer, George st.
Fitzgerald, Jane, new inn, Square	Prescott, Robert, leather seller, Baldwin street
Fowler, William, woollen and linen draper, George st.	Ready, Jeremiah, porter dealer and corn merchant, Baldwin st.
Hanafin, Michael, woollen and linen draper, George st.	Ready, Margaret, grocer and spirit store, Square.
Hanrahan, Thomas, baker, George st.	Reily, Terence, boot and shoe maker, George st.
Hayes, Thomas, spirit store, Baldwin st.	Roberts, Frances, baker, Baldwin st.
Hoops, Alex., tallow Chandler, Square	Ryan, John, leather seller, Baldwin st.
Hoops, Joseph, tobacconist, Square	Ryder, Thomas, spirit store, George st.
Jessop, Margaret, linen draper, Square	Walsh, Edmund, saddler, George st.
Kerby, Ellen, grocer and spirit store, Baldwin st.	Williams, Mary, spirit store, George st.
Lane, Thomas, baker, Baldwin st.	
Lewis, Richard, spirit store, George st.	
Lynch, Philip, apothecary, George st.	

The only disciple of Esculapius in the town in those days was Eugene O'Neill, M.D., and the only attorney, John Wigmore Sherlock, who resided in Bullock road.

J. BUCKLEY.



JOURNAL

OF THE

CORK HISTORICAL & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The Barony of Carbery.

(Continued from p. 10.)

BY PROF. W. F. T. BUTLER, M.A., F.R.U.I.



THE clans we have been hitherto considering held all West Carbery, and some part of the west division of East Carbery. By far the greater part of the rest of the barony was in the hands of various branches of the MacCarthys, or demesne land of the chief.

The district round Dunmanway, in the north-west angle of the barony, was called Glan-a-Chroim, and was held by a sept known as MacCarthy Glas, or the green MacCarthy.⁽²¹⁾ This sept owned 52 ploughlands, and had at least two castles, Dunmanway and Togher. A great deal of information about these MacCarthys is contained in a work by a modern representative of this family, "The Historical Pedigree of the MacCarthys of Glen a Croim," by Mr. Daniel MacCarthy Glas, whose other work, "The Life and

⁽²¹⁾ Particulars of this district have been given in this "Journal," second series, vol. i., page 481.

Letters of Florence MacCarthy More," is well known to all students of the history of Munster. In one respect he has been led astray by family partiality: he asserts that MacCarthy Glas paid no dues and was in no way subject to MacCarthy Reagh. But from the list of MacCarthy's chief rents in 1636, which I have so often quoted, it appears that the overlord got yearly £10 1s. od. out of this sept.

North of the Bandon river, and east of Glan-a-Chroim, dwelt a small clan, the O'Crowleys. Their country, Kilshallow by name, comprised the east part of Fanlobbus, and the west of Kinneigh parishes, the small stream of the Blackwater running through its centre. The chief's house, Castle Crowley, was in the former parish, close to its north-eastern corner. This clan held 32 ploughlands, and paid a chief rent of £9 4s. 4d. to the overlord.

East of the O'Crowleys, the map of Muskerry⁽²²⁾ places Mac Ingen Auras' country. O'Donovan, in his appendix to the "Four Masters," appears to identify this sept with the MacCarthys of Clan Crimin. If he is right, the map is altogether wrong, for the lands of Clan Crimin lay a good way to the south of the Bandon river: along the small stream of the Arigideen. By comparing the names of townlands in the inquisition of 1636 with those on the Ordnance maps, it appears that the immediate neighbours of the O'Crowleys to the east were the Sliocht Cormac ny Kelly; and possibly it is to them that the name of Mac Ingen Auras was applied. They were a MacCarthy sept, holding only 13 ploughlands, and paying £3 5s. 0½d. to MacCarthy Reagh.

Still keeping north of the Bandon river, and going eastwards, we find that the country round Iniskeen was originally part of the lord's demesne land. But in Elizabeth's time, Sir Donough MacCarthy Reagh managed to leave a large part of the demesne to his son, the celebrated Florence, and amongst others the 12 ploughlands of Tuatha Iniskeen.⁽²³⁾

South of the Bandon river, with Kilshallow on the north, and Glan-i-Vollen, on the south, was the small district, only 9 ploughlands, held by the MacCarthys of Sliocht Corky. Most of the parish of Ballymoney was in their hands; the rest being demesne land of the overlord, or held by individual MacCarthys. This sept paid a yearly chief rent of £4 9s. 6d.⁽²⁴⁾

South of the Bandon river, and west of the O'Mahony's country of Kinalmeaky, were the 7 ploughlands of Clan Shane. This district was counted as part of the demesne in Elizabeth's time,⁽²⁵⁾ but by 1636 it had

⁽²²⁾In "Pacata Hibernia."

⁽²³⁾Smith.

⁽²⁴⁾MacCarthy Reagh had small chief rents from several lands in this parish. See also Car. Cal.

⁽²⁵⁾Car. Cal.

passed out of the MacCarthy Reagh's hands, paying him, however, the comparatively large rent of £7 3s. 3d.

The only important sept of the MacCarthys in the east division of East Carbery was the Clan Crimin. Their country, apparently, extended from the borders of Sliocht Corky to the boundary of Barry Roe, near Timoleague.⁽²⁶⁾ In this district they had at least two castles—Castle Derry and Ballinorougher. A large portion of their country, containing the former castle, was included in King James's grant to O'Donovan of Clan Loughlin, but this sept of MacCarthys remained powerful until the Cromwellian confiscations. Their lands in 1636 were estimated at 32½ ploughlands, from which MacCarthy Reagh received £16 5s. 8d. yearly.

In the year 1559 the demesne land of MacCarthy Reagh was 70½ ploughlands in extent. The great mass of this was in the eastern part of Carbery between the river Bandon and Courtmacsherry Bay, but he had also large tracts round Clonakilty, Rosscarbery, and Skibbereen.⁽²⁷⁾

It deserves attention that, in Carbery, Muskerry, and Duhallow, the chief residences of the lords, and the greater part of their demesne lands, lay in the eastern part of their territories, i.e., on the frontiers of the English settlers. Most, indeed, of the principal MacCarthy castles had been won from the English, and the eastern position of their demesnes will be accounted for if we suppose that the greater part of each new conquest fell to the chief.

Kilbrittain, MacCarthy Reagh's chief fortress, with a large tract around it, had been taken from the De Courceys. This conquest must have taken place in comparatively recent times, for, when Smith wrote, this district was not included in the barony of Carbery, but was classed by itself as the Cantred of Kilbrittain. In it were also the castles of Coolmain, Kilgobban, and Carriganassig, while on the Kinalea side of the Bandon river MacCarthy held the castle of Dundaniel.⁽²⁸⁾ Other castles in his hands were Gortnaclogh,⁽²⁹⁾ Letterinlis,⁽³⁰⁾ Burren (near Timoleague), Banduff,⁽³¹⁾ and perhaps Downeen, or the "Downings,"⁽³²⁾ a castle on a sea-girt rock near Rosscarbery.⁽³³⁾

⁽²⁶⁾I have not been able to make out the exact boundaries in these eastern districts.

⁽²⁷⁾The total for Carbery given by Carew is 879 ploughlands. Of these 70½ demesne; 299, septs of the Clan Carthy; 141, O'Mahonys; 131, O'Donovans; 102½, O'Driscolls; 63, O'Mahony of Kinalmeaky.

⁽²⁸⁾Or Dundanier, see account of this castle by Mr. Gillman in this "Journal."

⁽²⁹⁾Inquisition, 1636.

⁽³⁰⁾He at any rate held the townlands around the castle (1636).

⁽³¹⁾Smith., ⁽³²⁾O'Donovan.

⁽³³⁾A townland, "Downyne," is mentioned in the inquisition of 1636.

Carew mentions one more sub-clan in Carbery—the O'Murrihys of Ballywiddan, with 4 ploughlands. I have met with no other mention of this insignificant clan.

The town of Ross, originally an English settlement, maintained some sort of existence, in spite of the ravages of its Irish neighbours, down to the sixteenth century. In the article contributed by the Rev. Father Hurley, P.P., to this "Journal" on the Blessed Thaddeus MacCarthy, Ross is described as containing nearly 200 houses, surrounded by a wall; ⁽³⁴⁾ and it would seem from the same article that the "city," with its castles and fortifications, was the property of the bishops. This would of course explain its existence during the period of about 200 years during which the English had no footing in West Cork.⁽³⁵⁾

The inquisition made in 1636 gives us a very clear idea of the state of a large number of "Irish Countries," after they had been brought under English law, in Elizabeth's reign. In the first place, the overlord was deprived of all his signiories, cuttings and spendings, rights of quartering soldiers, etc.—in short, of all his "Irish exactions," as the various compositions call them. He was thus deprived of all feudal or tribal jurisdiction, and became an ordinary subject of the crown. As compensation for this loss, he was granted, firstly, all the castles and lands then in his possession either as private property, or in virtue of his chieftainship, and was to hold these according to English laws of inheritance, i.e., they were to pass to his children, to the exclusion of the tanist, who was generally a nephew or cousin of the chief, and often on bad terms with him.⁽³⁶⁾ Very probably, the chief managed to include in his grant any unappropriated parts of the tribal land, and also the lands of the poorer clansmen. Secondly, he got a fixed chief rent, payable out of all the country over which he had formerly ruled. In Connaught this was, as a rule, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. an acre, or five shillings out of every 120 acres.⁽³⁷⁾ But in Carbery, where, perhaps, the chiefs had already compounded with their subjects for a fixed money rent, instead of their cuttings and spendings, no uniform system seems to have been followed. MacCarthy Reagh was entitled in all to £208 14s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. yearly as chief

⁽³⁴⁾This would seem to be in 1517. Ross, except the Bishop's lands, had been granted to the Roches by Fitz-Stephen and De Cogan (Smith).

⁽³⁵⁾Roughly speaking, 1350—1550.

⁽³⁶⁾Of course, technically this was a fraud on the clan, for whom the chief was a trustee, having the mensal lands only for his life. But, on the other hand, the clan were freed from all the oppressive rights of the chief, and in reality the only losers were those who might have succeeded to the chieftainship by the rule of tanistry.

⁽³⁷⁾In some cases 3s. per 120 acres, in others 10s., or even 13s. 4d. See "Composition of Connaught," in Appendix to O'Flaherty's "Iar Connaught."

rent, besides a "poundage hog," or one hog out of every herd of five or upwards, in certain districts, and, in the eastern districts of Carbery at any rate, to certain measures of wheat, and to free ploughing of a certain amount of land.⁽³⁸⁾ We must remember that rents in the sixteenth century in Ireland, though assessed in money, were generally paid in cattle; and that, for the greater part of Elizabeth's reign, the rate was three cows to the pound. Taking this to have been the rate when MacCarthy's chief rents were fixed, we will get a better idea of his income by saying that he received every year over 624 cows, besides pigs, and measures of oats from the barony of Carbery, in addition to the rents of his own private estates, and the value of the free ploughing.

In addition to this, the chiefs often got various feudal rights, such as the wardship of the heirs of all landowners in their former territory. Sometimes, too, the other proprietors were to hold their lands by knight's service from the former chief, being liable then to the various feudal incidents.⁽³⁹⁾ After the suppression of the Desmond rebellion both MacCarthy Mór and MacCarthy Reagh claimed that the lands of such of their followers as had been killed in rebellion should fall to them, and not to the crown, as they were the feudal superiors of these followers. The crown so far acknowledged the justice of this claim as to give MacCarthy Mór the lands of O'Donoghue Mór and of MacCarthy of Cosmaigne; and though MacCarthy Reagh's petition was denied, this was on a legal quibble; so that the Government seems to have admitted that these two chiefs were entitled to any lands forfeited by their subjects.⁽⁴⁰⁾

When the overlords were thus disposed of, the Government proceeded to deal on the same lines with the chiefs of the subject clans. In Connaught this was done at once, in 1585 and the following years; but in Carbery the process may have been a gradual one; at any rate the final settlement of the O'Donovans was not until the thirteenth year of James I. Here much the same process was followed. The chief got his own private lands, and the lands and castles he held as chief, and in Carbery at any rate, chief rents from the rest of the clan territory.

⁽³⁸⁾ Smith says £300 a year chief rent. My figures are from the inquisition of 1636.

⁽³⁹⁾ In other cases, as apparently in Carbery, they held directly from the crown, though paying chief rents to their former lords. It would be interesting to know whether any of these chief rents still exist.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Of course both chiefs claimed under English law, MacCarthy Mór probably under his grant of 1565. At the same time, they had fully preserved their authority as Irish chiefs, which did not really lapse until after the battle of Kinsale. Both these MacCarthy chiefs were strong supporters of the royal cause against the Desmonds, and were not backward in sending in their claims for reward.

In Connaught, indeed, the lesser chiefs were not so liberally treated, as a rule, in the matter of chief rents, etc.; but, on the other hand, the "Irish exactions" were not to cease till the death of the reigning chief. These chief rents amounted to £44 15s 11 11-28d. in the case of O'Donovan of Clan Cahil, and £9 2s. 3½d. for O'Donovan of Clan Loughlin. Besides, both chiefs were secured in the enjoyment of all the dues which they had levied of old in the harbours under their rule.⁽⁴¹⁾

O'Driscoll of Collymore, too, appears to have still enjoyed in the sixth year of James I. all the dues formerly levied by his ancestors on ships, and received chief rents to the amount of £18 5s. 11d. From this we may conclude that the sub-chiefs of Carbery were in general left as many of their former rights as were consistent with the abolition of their old semi-independent status.

The residue of the land was divided amongst those who actually held it by Irish law or custom. This is not explicitly stated of Carbery; but is evident from the grants of chief rents to the two O'Donovans from lands in Clan Cahil and Clan Loughlin. If the chiefs had got all the clan land there would have been no object in making these grants of rent. In some cases, too, the persons who held the lands liable to chief rents are mentioned, namely, minor septs of the O'Donovans, etc.⁽⁴²⁾

But from what took place in Connaught, we can judge of how matters were arranged in Carbery. According to Walsingham's directions, each chief was to have as much as is his own, with a salvo jure to all others that have right. And so we find that in Galway Sir Murrough ne Doe O'Flaherty as overlord of Joyce Country got certain demesne lands therein, free of all rent to the Queen, and a chief rent of 5s. per 120 acres out of most of the barony; the immediate chief of the Joyces got some land free of all rents to the Queen or O'Flaherty; and, finally, the rest of the freeholders were to hold their lands of O'Flaherty by knight's service according to his or their portion of land.⁽⁴³⁾

Of course, two things interfered with the proper carrying out of this settlement. The chiefs and richer men were probably able to get more than their fair share of land; and, secondly, the English statesmen of the day had a curious aversion to small properties.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In Sir J. Davies'

⁽⁴¹⁾ See for the O'Donovans the appendix to O'Donovan's "Four Masters."

⁽⁴²⁾ Of O'Driscolls are mentioned (inquisition in Miscellany of Celtic Society) Sliocht Teige O'Driscoll, Sliocht Dermody O'Driscoll, Sliocht Donoghy O'Driscoll, Sliocht-en-Naspigg, Sliocht Mac Hanyse, Muinter-y-hilligh, Sliocht O'Driscoll (probably the one to which the lord belonged), and Donoghoe MacFyneen ne Longe.

⁽⁴³⁾ Appendix to O'Flaherty's "Iar Connaught," where this "Composition of Connaught" is given at great length.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ "The multitude of small freeholders beggars the country" (State Papers,

account of the settlement of Monaghan and Fermanagh he makes this clear; anyone who could only show right to anything under 60 acres got no land at all. In this way many of the poorer clansmen were deprived of their due share; yet the number cannot have been as great as is popularly supposed. In Wexford⁽⁴⁵⁾ only 667 persons claimed land in the 275,000 acres⁽⁴⁶⁾ held by the Irish clans, and of these 200 did not appear to prosecute their claim. So that 450 people felt that they had a good claim to land out of a population of over 16,000.

We possess detailed accounts of the final settlement of Monaghan, and of the proposed settlement of Fermanagh and Cavan, which was however never carried out, being interfered with by the plantation of Ulster. Of Longford and Wexford, too, we have ample details, but here the final arrangement was much interfered with by the confiscation of one-fourth of the land for a plantation of Englishmen.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Unfortunately, there seem to be no details of the settlement of Desmond and Carbery; perhaps, here, the rights of the lesser landowners were settled amongst themselves, and the English law merely confirmed existing arrangements.

It would be interesting to know what proportion of the land in Carbery was left to the smaller proprietors. The chief rents granted to O'Donovan of Clan Cahil amounted to £44 15s. 11 11-28d., and certain measures of oats, while the lord of Clan Loughlin got £9 2s. 3½d.⁽⁴⁸⁾ These, at the ordinary rate at which chief rents were then fixed—a halfpenny or penny an acre on "profitable land"—would show that a very considerable amount of land was divided among the clan, but unfortunately a great many of the lands paying these rents were, as I have said before, in the hands of O'Mahonys or MacCarthys, so that we cannot be certain how much came from lands held by the O'Donovan clansmen. However, it seems clear from the document dealing with Collymore that about half that territory was in 1609 divided amongst

1611). In Wexford and Longford few got less than 100 acres, none less than 60 acres. It appears from State Papers that these acres equal one and a half English statute acres, and, apparently, unprofitable land was not counted.

⁽⁴⁵⁾Ample details of this Wexford plantation are given in the Calendars of State Papers (1615—25), and in Miss Hickson's book, "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century."

⁽⁴⁶⁾I take the modern acreage. The surveyors of James I. counted only 66,800 profitable acres.

⁽⁴⁷⁾These plantations of Longford and Wexford were a most scandalous robbery of the natives. Much more than one-fourth was seized for English planters; in Wexford over 300 of the Irish landowners lost their whole property.

⁽⁴⁸⁾In O'Donovan's "Four Masters," Appendix.

the various septs of the clan of O'Driscoll.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The final result of the changes in Carbery was that in 1641 there were over 400 proprietors of Irish descent in the barony.⁽⁵⁰⁾

One great advantage which the MacCarthyys reaped from their support of the English power against the Desmonds was that they were freed from all the claims put forward by the Earls of Desmond and the Carews to the ownership of the MacCarthy countries. Henry II. had granted all Cork and Kerry to De Cogan and FitzStephen, leaving nothing to the Irish. The Desmonds claimed to be their representatives, and actually held nearly half these countries.⁽⁵¹⁾ They had succeeded in forcing MacCarthy Mór to promise to pay them a rent of £214 11s. 2d. for his territory; though it is very doubtful if they ever saw much of the money.⁽⁵²⁾ From Carbery the Desmonds claimed 100 beeves a year, and this was paid even long after the fall of the Desmonds, for Elizabeth granted one-third of it to Florence MacCarthy, and it is mentioned in Cox's "*Regnum Corcagiense*" that in the seventeenth century this "slavish tribute" was still paid. We learn incidentally that eight of these beeves were levied from the O'Driscolls of Collymore.⁽⁵³⁾

Besides, the Desmonds never seem to have given up the idea of making themselves masters of the whole of Cork and Kerry. As late as 1521 they invaded Muskerry with the avowed intention of expelling the natives, and seizing on the land. But the common danger brought the Lord of Carbery to the rescue of his kinsman of Muskerry, and the two chiefs utterly routed the invaders near Mourne Abbey, and slew more than a thousand of their fighting men, to the great delight of the English Government. Then came Sir Peter Carew, claiming to be the rightful lord of both Geraldine and MacCarthy lands. This provoked a rebellion in which, probably for the first time, MacCarthy Mór and the Geraldines fought on the same side. But the alliance did not last long; the MacCarthyys submitted to the Government, and seem to have come to terms with Carew, while they sent all their forces to aid in the reduction of the great Desmond fortress of Castlemaine.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Henceforward Elizabeth adhered fairly consistently to the principle first adopted by Henry VIII.—that an Irishman might hold land

(49) Ownership was still in part collective. The sliocht or sept was liable for the chief rent, not the individual, in many cases.

(50) List in O'Hart's "*Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland.*"

(51) With, it would seem, a very indifferent title.

(52) The Knights of Kerry claimed chief rents out of the barony of Magunihy and from the MacGillicuddys, evidently relics of former Geraldine supremacy.

(53) Inquisition, page 106, Miscellany, Celtic Society.

(54) "*Four Masters,*" 1572.

in Ireland,⁽⁵⁵⁾ and that each occupier was to be confirmed in the possession of what he actually held, provided that he should first surrender such lands, and apply for a regrant of them.

In one particular MacCarthy Reagh suffered in Elizabeth's reign. He was confined to the limits of the modern barony of Carbery, and lost all rights over the small adjacent baronies of Ibane and Barry Roe, Kinalea, and Kinalmeaky.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The two latter of these baronies had in early times belonged to the O'Mahonys. The Barrys possessed themselves of them after the Norman invasion; but, in Kinalmeaky at any rate, without expelling the original owners.⁽⁵⁷⁾ When the English power began to ebb in Munster, the O'Mahonys recovered Kinalmeaky, and as they had probably been helped by MacCarthy Reagh, they acknowledged him as their overlord.⁽⁵⁸⁾

The two peninsulas of Ibane and Barryroe had been colonized by the Hodnetts, Arundels, Barrys, and other Anglo-Norman families, who allowed some Irish clans, as the O'Heas and O'Cowhigs, to remain as their vassals. The new settlers fell out among themselves, until the Barrys by the simple process of exterminating their rivals, obtained possession of the district.⁽⁵⁹⁾

But in the meantime, the Barrys, following Irish ways in all things, split up into several branches. Barry Oge of Kinalea and Barry Roe of the coast districts acknowledged, at most, only a nominal allegiance to Barry Mór of East Cork. They do not seem to have paid much more regard to their feudal lords, the Earls of Desmond. The consequence of their divisions was that MacCarthy Reagh pushed his conquests east to the Bandon river, and even crossed it, and apparently forcing Barry

(55) This policy of Henry VIII. must have seemed as monstrous to the English of his day as it would to the modern Englishman if Lord Milner or the Cape Government should declare that the rightful owners of Johannesburg and Kimberley were the native Kaffir inhabitants. It swept away the claims of the Desmonds, Ormonds, and Kildares to the ownership of most of Munster and Leinster.

(56) Carbery has 483,000 acres, Kinalea 50,000, Kinalmeaky 36,000, Ibane and Barryroe 35,000.

(57) An Inquisition quoted by Smith says William de Barry held under De Courcy "Kinalea, Kinelbeg and Flanlow," i.e., Kinalmeaky and Iflanloe. This last district was in the sixteenth century held by O'Mahonys under MacCarthy of Muskerry.

(58) In any case the MacCarthys ruled all the clans in South Munster before the Norman invasion. The first MacCarthy Reagh forced his brother, MacCarthy Mor, to yield to him south-west Cork in full sovereignty.

(59) They left a few freeholders—Arundels, Hodnetts, etc. The Lord Arundel of the Strand still held some lands here in Elizabeth's time (Spenser's "State of Ireland").

Oge to become his vassal. The castle of Dundanier,⁽⁶⁰⁾ on the Kinalea side of the river Bandon served to secure his new conquests. On the sea coast the capture of Clonakilty severed Ibane from Barryroe, the taking of Kilbrittain separated the Barrys of the coast from the De Courceys. The latter family succeeded in preserving their independence, and a small part of their former lands, but apparently Barry Roe had to purchase safety by becoming subject to MacCarthy, whose rule now stretched from Bantry Bay to within a few miles of Carrigaline. On this whole line of coast only the town of Kinsale and the De Courcys still remained subject to England.⁽⁶¹⁾

Now, in the sixteenth century the line of the Barrys of Barry Mór died out, and the Barry of Barry Roe succeeded to Barrymór. Being now one of the most powerful lords in Munster he would naturally throw off all further dependence on MacCarthy Reagh, and in this he was supported by the crown, which aimed at breaking up the great Irish lordships, by detaching from them the subject clans. As MacCarthy could show no legal title to Barryroe or Kinalea both these districts would be freed from his rule.⁽⁶²⁾

The fate of Kinalmeaky was different. Although, as I have said, the principal Irish clans in Munster fought on the English side against the Geraldines, not all of the lesser chiefs pursued this prudent course. Amongst the partisans of the Earl of Desmond in the rebellion of 1579 was O'Mahony of Kinalmeaky. He was slain during the rebellion, and in due course his lands,⁽⁶³⁾ or rather those of his clan, were confiscated. They were to be divided like the rest of the forfeited lands, amongst English "Undertakers." But here MacCarthy Reagh interposed. He,

⁽⁶⁰⁾It does not at all appear that MacCarthy Reagh only obtained this castle after the Desmond rebellion, for Barry Oge did not lose much, if anything, after this event. Barry Oge was still the great landowner in Kinalea down to 1641. It seems much more probable the MacCarthy Reagh took the castle from Barry Oge during the two centuries when the English power was only nominal in Munster.

⁽⁶¹⁾My authority for this is "A Breviate of the Getting of Ireland," which gives Barry Oge and Barry Roe as vassals of MacCarthy Reagh. This refers to the early sixteenth century. In Elizabeth's day MacCarthy Reagh seems to have had no control over any Barry lands, but kept Dundanier.

⁽⁶²⁾This would reconcile the statement in the "Breviate" and the state of affairs in Elizabeth's time. We have but little knowledge of the history of West Cork in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But it is certain that in the thirteenth century the English power was pretty well established on both sides of the Bandon river, and along the coast; and that about 1500 all this territory was once more practically independent.

⁽⁶³⁾63 ploughlands, Carew; estimated by the Elizabethan surveyors as 2½ seignories, i. e., 30,000 acres.

not O'Mahony, he said, was the real owner of Kinalmeaky. O'Mahony was his feudal tenant, and could only forfeit his interest, the territory then reverting to MacCarthy Reagh. This claim could not possibly be supported by Irish law; but MacCarthy Reagh knew that there was little chance of the English officials discovering this. By English law he would seem to have had a valid claim; but the "Adventurers" would not so easily abandon their hopes of seizing the barony, and the whole matter was entrusted for enquiry to Justice Jessua Smythes, and the Bishop of Cork and Ross. Their decision is a characteristic piece of hypocrisy. MacCarthy Reagh was an intruder in Kinalmeaky; the O'Mahonys were as old, if not older, than the MacCarthys; the latter had forcibly usurped certain rights over Kinalmeaky, and the O'Mahonys should be freed from this oppression. They were freed—by the confiscation of every acre of their lands—and the territory was divided between two English "adventurers," Beecher and Greenville.⁽⁶⁴⁾

However the new owners do not seem to have made much progress, at first, in reducing the O'Mahonys. There was still an O'Mahony, lord of Kinalmeaky in 1601,⁽⁶⁵⁾ and his country was so strong that the English forces could not pass through it from Cork into Carbery, but had to make a detour through Kinalea and by Kinsale.⁽⁶⁶⁾

In this territory the chief castle and residence of O'Mahony stood near Bandon. The spot is now called Castle Bernard.

Kinalea had numerous castles, mostly built by the Barrys; but some by other families, such as the Roches.⁽⁶⁷⁾ It contained one town, Inishannon, which seems to have kept some sort of existence during the worst days of the English colony in Munster.

The small districts of Ibawn and Barryroe were also full of castles—Timoleague, Courtmacsherry, Castle Arundell, and Rathbarry were the most important. Smith says there were seven on the cliffs near Galley Head. Most of these probably consisted merely of a square tower, and an enclosure or bawn.

At the time when the different documents which I have made use of in this article were drawn up, Kinalmeaky and the lands of Barry Oge and Barry Roe had passed away from the overlordship of MacCarthy Reagh, and so there is no information as to the tributes which this

⁽⁶⁴⁾Of course, in reality, the chief could only have forfeited his own share in the country, the rest of the land being the property of the free clansmen. MacCarthy Reagh would no doubt have acknowledged this if he had succeeded in his claim; of course the two English grantees did not.

⁽⁶⁵⁾Cox, quoted in Smith's "History of Cork."

⁽⁶⁶⁾Smith. This was in 1602.

⁽⁶⁷⁾Dunderrow and Ship Pool, according to Smith, belonged to the Roches.

chief may have once received from them. But, with the exception of this loss, the changes of the Tudor period had done little to injure the position of the lord of Carbery. At the opening of the Stuart period he was no longer a semi-independent prince; but he was a great land-owner, connected by blood with the chief noble families of Munster, and sooner or later likely to be raised to the peerage, in accordance with the general policy of Elizabeth and James to Irish chiefs of his rank. The rising of 1641 and the confiscations that followed deprived the family of this position, but more fortunate than most they did not sink to the level of peasants. The then head of the family, Colonel MacCarthy Reagh, was one of the "nominees," who, by the Act of Explanation, were to be restored to their chief house and 2,000 acres adjoining. The Cromwellian grantees, however, had got too firm a hold; and in 1666 not one, out of the half million acres of Carbery, remained to the family of the ancient chiefs. Yet the MacCarthy Reaghs, with a wonderful tenacity, preserved their social position and considerable wealth, though in a new home. They settled near Bansha in Tipperary, where for a considerable period they lived, keeping up the old traditions of unlimited hospitality. Finally, Denis MacCarthy Reagh, of Spring House, Co. Tipperary, the head of the family, emigrated to France, where, in the latter years of the eighteenth century, he was enrolled among the nobles, with the title of Count, and where it would seem his descendants exist to-day in a position not unworthy of their ancient splendour, as the following notice, extracted from the "Cork Herald" of a few years back, shows:—"A true lover of Ireland, a typical Franco-Irishman, has just passed away in Arcachon, near Bordeaux. Count Daniel MacCarthy was very proud of his Irish name, his Irish descent, and even his Irish features, for after two centuries of settlement in France the descendants of this old family bear the undeniable traces of their origin. One of the desires of his life, unfortunately unrealised, was to visit Cork and Tipperary, the homes of his ancestors. His son, Patrick, a brilliant young military officer, inherits his father's love of the old country, and his wish to see it—an ambition which he hopes to gratify. He will certainly find there the cordial welcome which his father in Arcachon always offered to all Irish comers.

THE END.

A Tour in Ireland in 1672-4.

CONTRIBUTED WITH NOTES, BY JAMES BUCKLEY, COUNCIL MEMBER.



THE tour here reprinted presents within short compass an exceedingly interesting description of the social life and manners, and religious usages, of the Irish peasantry in the seventeenth century. No previous writer can be said to have left us a closer observation, off the beaten tracks, of the country's ways; and the tour is remarkable also as affording such ample evidence of the existence, more than two centuries ago, of so many customs that obtain at the present day. An occasional statement may perhaps be slightly exaggerated, but the description as a whole is free from that acerbity and pseudo-superiority so peculiar to the writings of English travellers in the country in Elizabethan times. The author is unknown, but the vital question of food on which he pondered long at the commencement of his account would seem to indicate the presence of an English palate. His allusions in that department shew that the oatcake continued to be, as it did for over half a century after, the staple diet of the people. The potato, although cultivated in the country, particularly in the South, had not yet attained a national popularity, and if referred to at all was ingloriously included in the generic term—"roots."⁽¹⁾ Fowls were remarkably cheap; and so were eggs, which were procurable at the rate of twenty for a penny. Salmon was sold under three farthings per lb.; and the prices of other provisions were equally low. These were verily "good old times." Very little mention is made of the costume of the people, most probably as it presented no very distinct features, since the famous Irish mantle—"fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief"—had just then been abandoned.⁽²⁾

An original copy of the tour is now exceedingly scarce, and so far

(1) For an interesting account of the potato, see paper by Sir W. R. Wilde, entitled "An Inquiry into the time of the introduction and the general use of the potato in Ireland, and its various failures since that period," in the Proceedings Royal Irish Academy for 1856.

(2) The Rev. Dr. John Lynch—"Gratianus Lucius"—who wrote "Cambrensis Eversus," some fifteen years before the above "Tour" was undertaken, has much interesting information on ancient Irish dress in the thirteenth chapter of that learned work. The entire work has been edited for the Celtic Society by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, Dublin, 1850.

as can be ascertained it has not been reprinted hitherto. It was published in London, in 1674, under the title—"The Western Wonder: or, O'Brazeel an enchanted island discovered; with a relation of two ship-wracks in a dreadful sea-storm in that discovery. To which is added, A description of a place called Montecapernia, relating the nature of the people, their qualities, humours, fashions, religion, etc." The author dreamt of an enchanted island, and immediately communicated the nature of his dream to a friend, who—the account informs us—"did presently put great confidence in my dream, and readily consented not only to be assistant in this new discovery, but likewise to go himself in person, having at that time a vessel of his own of about thirty tons, ready fitted. No man could be fitter for this purpose than he and I, for we were both so indebted to the place wherein we were, that we only wanted a wind to sell the country. Having concluded on the design, we made no delays, but getting seamen a board, befitting our purpose, on October, the 9th, 1672, we set sail." The party were buffeted about at sea for several days. They beheld, at a distance, the enchanted island, but could not effect a landing. The description of the island somewhat resembles the Mandevillean account of it communicated in a letter from W. Hamilton, of Derry, to his friend in England, and printed in London in the year 1675, and afterwards reprinted in Hardiman's "Irish Minstrelsy" (London, 1831), and elsewhere. It is highly probably that since both accounts were published in succeeding years they were produced by the same imaginative pen. The vessel in which our author embarked was submerged, after tossing about for many days in a boisterous ocean, and the party took to the small boats. A few days afterwards they were picked up by a trading vessel, which was in turn wrecked on a rock within musket shot of the shore. Here they remained until the tide receded, when they were enabled to land.

A skipper belonging to the second vessel conducted our author to a parson's house in a neighbouring village, where—the account relates—"Having dried and refreshed ourselves, we fell into some discourse with the Parson and his wife; and though they spake but little English yet they indifferently understood the sad Iliads of our misfortunes which they express by their tears, weeping bitterly at our relation, so that one would have thought they had suffered shipwreck, and not we.⁽³⁾ What meat they had they did set before us; and we fell to it so heartily as if

(3) Shakspere, who lived in the same century as our tourist, somewhat appropriately expresses the feelings of the audience:

"Each substance of a grief hath twenty shadows,
Which shew like grief itself, but is not so."

King Richard II., act ii., scene ii.

we would have repaired all we lost before, by our long fasting, at one meal.

"Their bread was broad oat-cakes baked on a flat stone, made of stuff much like that which the Welsh call Haver-meal; but their beer is very strong, which they brew on purpose, as I imagine to verifie the proverb, 'Good Drink, is Meat, Drink, and Cloth': for in the coldest season they will go bare-foot, and be clad very thin; but they will be sure to keep their understandings warm, and line their insides well with their potent liquor.

"The next day, the parson to express his kindness in a more liberal manner, desired us all to dine with him: we had but one dish for entertainment, and that so cram'd with such variety of God's creatures, that this dish seem'd to me to be the first chapter of Genesis; there was such beef, mutton, goat's and kid's-flesh, bacon, roots, etc., and all so confounded, that the best palate could not read what he did eat, nor by his taste know and distinguish the several sorts of creatures. Though I was hungry enough, I did not like their thus working meat into a new chaos, and saucing the Creator's creatures out of the knowledge of mankind. But when I understood that this hodge-podge proceeded more from custom than from curiosity, and that this was one point of their husbandry to boyle all together to save charges, my former censure was somewhat mitigated.⁽⁴⁾

"The Parson took so great a liking to me, that he would not be denied but that I should stay with him one month, to which, with much intreaty, I consented. The rest of the company took such courses as were most convenient for their present condition. In this time he brought me acquainted with many gentlemen of this countrey, one whereof so prevailed with me as to live with him two years: in which time I took these true ensuing observations of the countrey. If they are not so large and full as expected, let my small stay in that place make my apology."

(4) The dish referred to was no other than the well-known Irish stew—a dish of great antiquity and one that looms largely in ancient Irish saga. Apropos of it, the following story is related of Toole, the celebrated actor. Impatient with hunger, he asked a cynical Irish waiter at a restaurant again and again, "is that Irish stew coming?" till he was at last silenced by the answer, "It's comin', and maybe it'll be no great things when it comes." He was right. When it came, Toole, finding a button in it, called out, "Waiter! Look here! What do you think I've found in this stew?" "Mate, maybe," sneered the cynical waiter. "A button! I found that button in it!" "Ah then now, an' what did ye expect to find—a gowld watch and chain?"

THE DESCRIPTION OF MONTECAPERNIA, WITH THE NATURES OF
THE PEOPLE, THEIR QUALITIES, HUMOURS, MODES, FASHIONS
AND RELIGION.

MONTECAPERNIA is divided into two great parts, south and north ; and it may well admit of this division, since there is so great a difference in the manners and language of both places ; the south understanding the north, for the most part as little as the English do the Cornish.

The name Montecapernia, seems to be derived from the Latin Mons and Caper, as much as to say Montes Caprorum, Mountains of Goats ; and so it may properly have that appellation, since there are few Countries afford greater plenty of them ; whose nature is such, they will climb cragged and almost inaccessible high mountains, and dangerous precipices, with as much facility as a squirrel shall a tree.⁽⁵⁾

Montecapernia to the Southward is a countrey inriched with Nature's chiefest Treasures ; the fruitfulness of whose soil may vye with most places of the Universe.

Their hills for height are dreadful to the eye ; and although they seem almost inaccessible, yet are very profitable to the inhabitants, not only as to mines of Coal, Lead and Silver, contain'd within the bowels of these mountains, but also to the good common they afford to vast numbers of sheep, which are but small, yet very sweet mutton, whose fleece employs many hands in that countrey ; which plentifully supplies many more near adjacent, with good serviceable cloth, frize, flannel, etc.

Neither is the Northward of the Countrey so barren but that the land produceth what is necessary for the sustenance, profit and pleasure of the inhabitants. Their beasts in general are but small, yet such (as are for food) much more indulge the palate, than any flesh in other parts : what are for labour are very serviceable, being full of mettle, exceeding hardy, and will carry burdens the greatness whereof would startle any man's belief.

The countrey is water'd by many excellent rivers and rivulets, which are furnished with great numbers of variety of fish ; one sort whereof I took special notice of having never seen the like before ; the natives call it a Mort, they are of all sizes, speckled, with red spots on the side, some whereof are as big as a salmon, and eat exactly like it.

Their seas round about supply them with all manner of shell-fish, and other sorts, the choicest which ever came to Neptune's table ; which

(5) "At the present day numerous flocks of goats are seen wandering over the country, and that such was the case within the memory of our great grand-fathers is ascertained beyond a doubt. But when were they imported into Ireland ? That is a mystery."—"Cambrensis Eversus."

they convey to other countries circumjacent, and thereby make a very great advantage.⁽⁶⁾

Their marshes and rivers (of which they have plenty) are visited by multitudes of wild-fowl in the Winter-season; their hills are stor'd with woodcock, grouse, heathcock, etc. Nor are they a little stored with red-deer, hares and rabbits.

Fish and flesh of all sorts are sold cheaper than can be imagin'd; as a quarter of mutton for eight pence, an ell-long salmon⁽⁷⁾ for ten pence, a pullet for a groat, and in some places (according to the season) twenty eggs a penny. I know not whether this cheapness may arise from the plenty of the aforesaid provision, or the scarcity of money.

The people in general are great admirers of their pedigree, and have got their genealogy so exactly by heart that though it be two hours work for them to repeat the names only from whence they are descended lineally, yet, will they not omit one word in half a dozen several repetitions; from whence I gather they say them instead of their Pater noster, or their evening and their morning prayers.

⁽⁶⁾ The following excerpt from a manuscript in the British Museum (Lansdowne, 242), entitled, "The Name, Climate, Dimentions, Division, Air, Soyl, Commodities, Money, and Buildings of Ireland," and written about the year 1693, is confirmatory of the writer's remarks as to the abundance of fish captured on the Irish coast. "Munster: This Province is called in Irish, Mawn, in a more ordinary construction of speech Moon; lyeth upon Southward to ye Virginnia Sea, Northward it frunteth part of Connought, the East is Neighbour'd by Leinster, and the West is altogether washed with the ocean westward. The forme thereof is Quadrant, and in length extended from Baltimore Bay in her South unto ye Bay of Galloway in her North, is about 90 miles; her broadest part from East to West, is from Waterford Haven to ffeiretar Haven, and containeth 100 miles. The whole circumference by following ye Promontories and Inlets are about 440 miles. The air milde and temperate, neither too chilly cold nor too scorchy hot. The soyl in some parts hilly, looking aloft with woody, wilde and solitary mountains, yet ye vallies below are garnished with corne ffields and generally all both pleasant for sight and fertile for soyle. The general commodities of this Province are corne, cattle, wood, wool, and ffish. The last thereof it affords in every place, plenty and abundance of all sorts. But none so well known for the store of Herrings yt are taken there as is the Promontory Erought yt lyes between Bantree and Baltimore Bay, whereunto every year a great ffleet of Spanyards and Portuguese used to resort (even in ye midst of winter) to fish also for cods. It was in past times divided into many parts. But at this day it is distinguished into these countries only, viz., Lymmerick, Waterford, Corke, and Typperary. And in those shires are comprehended (besides many safe stations and roads for shipping) twenty four towns of note and trading, sixty six castles of old erection, and including in ye whole eight hundred and two parishes."

⁽⁷⁾ The English ell is twenty-seven inches, the length of a man's arm. A salmon of that length would scale about 14 lbs.

The Gentry (for the most part) are extracted from very ancient families, who are adored by the commonalty; and to give them their due are good natur'd gentlemen, exceeding free, and courteous to strangers, and extraordinary generous in their entertainments; inso-much that I have seen in a gentleman's house of indifferent estate, at a moderate treat, twenty dishes, many of them trebly jointed, to recompence the smallness of the meat.

Their want of wine is supply'd by most incomparable beer and ale, which runs as free as water on a visit; ⁽⁸⁾ and if you do not drink as freely they think they have not made you welcome; so that a man knows not how to take leave till he is unable to stir a foot.

They are very courteous in their speech and noble in their carriage, firm (where they take) and constant in their resolutions, splendid in their public ceremonies (of Shrievalry, and the like), couragious, stout, and great lovers of their prince and countrey, honourable in their inclinations, and resolute in their enterprizes. In short they are generally accomplit in most respects, and greatly given to that they call hospitality.

As I have thus characteriz'd the good, so take the bad with it, according to my observation during my abode in this countrey: the purest wheat will have its chaff, and there is no wine but hath some lees.

Travelling into some places of no mean extent I thought myself to be at the fag-end of the world; the land being so exceeding barren, and destitute of wood, that for ten or twenty miles together (cross the countrey) you could not see a bush to tye your horse to, till you have untrust a point; and therefore you must either bridle your mouth to stay your horse, or trust to the tame nature and good conditions of the beast, who if he be inclin'd to cool his mouth with a tuft of grass, he may sooner find it in a feather bed; but if the quickness of the air hath given him an appetite to eat, and a stomach to digest heath, moss, and scragged stones, he cannot want provision.

The people in these barren places have so little converse with travellers, and the paths are so untrodden, that a man must aim at the way by guess, or carry a compass with him: and yet he may easily mistake the most noted road, which, if he do, he had need have recourse to his devotion for his miraculous deliverance from riding twenty-four hours, and never the nearer his journies end—nay it may be not six miles distant from whence he stray'd—and in all his travels see nothing but a flock of geese, some scattered sheep, half a dozen ragged colts, and now and then a few crows flying over his head, unless by chance under

⁽⁸⁾ In the tour of the French traveller, Boullaye le Gouz in Ireland, A.D. 1644, he observed that "their beer is very good, and the eau de vie, which they call Brandovin [Brandy], excellent. The butter, the beef, and the mutton, are better than in England."

the side of some hill (if near a common road) he discovers a smoke, which if he make towards and happily escape a bogg (of which the hills afford great plenty and very dangerous too) yet will it be difficult to discern the stately mansion whence the smoke arose, till his horse's feet be very near the roof—such is the natives' care in sheltering themselves within the walls of nature.⁽⁹⁾ And upon this account I have heard several of them brag of the strength and strange scituation of their towns, one whereof I had described to me, which engaged my curiosity to see it, whence I took this observation.

It is scituated in a little vale, encompassed round with walls which are a mile thick, and more; the entrance into the town is under water, and the steeple belonging to the town grows every year.

This place lies in the Norward of Montecapernia; and though it be contemptible for its buildings, yet is often made the place for the General assize of that County, where the Justices of Oyer and Terminer sit: where, note that this countrey is governed by as wholesom laws as any other countrey. Now to unriddle the aforesaid description, the town is built in a hole encompassed with very great and high hills which meet in their tops almost at the entrance into Town, by which means there is a trough made over the passage from one hill to the other for a conveyance of a watry brook which otherwise would annoy the passage into town: under this trough the people travel, which is their going under water into town: As for the steeple, they have none, but the bell hangs in an yew-tree in the Churchyard; and there lies the quibble that the steeple grows every year.

They boast of other strange things they have in their countrey,

⁽⁹⁾ Boullaye le Góuz has also left a short description of the different kinds of Irish dwellings, which is worth quoting. "The towns are built in the English fashion, but the houses in the country are in this manner. Two stakes are fixed in the ground, across which is a transverse pole to support two rows of rafters on the two sides, which are covered with leaves and straw. The cabins are of another fashion. There are four walls the height of a man, supporting rafters over which they thatch with straw and leaves. They are without chimneys, and make the fire in the middle of the hut, which greatly incommodes those who are not fond of smoke. The castles or houses of the nobility consist of four walls extremely high, thatched with straw; but to tell the truth, they are nothing but square towers without windows, or at least having such small apertures as to give no more light than there is in a prison. They have little furniture, and cover their rooms with rushes, of which they make their beds in summer, and of straw in winter. They put the rushes a foot deep on their floors, and on their windows, and many of them ornament the ceilings with branches.

See also "The Irish Hudibras" (London, 1689), to the like effect.

A more interesting and comprehensive account than either of the foregoing appears in Campbell's "Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland." London, 1777, p. 145.

namely, a great green bridge two or three miles in length, on which (like that under which the river Anus runs in Spain) they can feed two or three hundred head of cattle. It seems there is a river in this countrey that runs some miles under ground, and disimbogues itself into the sea: the inhabitants report if a goose should be put into this river and she swim through this earthen bridge, she will come out with never a feather on her back—the cause to me is occult and hidden.

There is another place far within the land through which, at high water, the sea will lash up a considerable height, with a noise both horrible and hideous; this is occasioned by the concav'd earth giving an inlet to the sea.

They talk of a well also that they have in which there is thirty steps to descend into it, in the stony side whereof there is the exact impression of a man which they say was Christ (by which you may gather the Montecapernians have heard of our Saviour); this impression was occasioned, as they say, when our Saviour descending this well to drink He lean'd against the wall, which was so tender-natured as to yield to His sides and limbs, lest its hardness should hurt any of them.

Though these things may seem incredible, yet I can assure this, that they will talk to one another about two miles distant, that is, one shall stand on the top of one high hill and the other upon the other, and though their tops are near, yet in the descending of one and ascending the other hill, reckoning the interval between, and it will not amount to less than two miles. This they will brag of too; and to shew their wit they tell you pretty stories, as for example, that two fathers and two sons killed three hares, and each carried home one and no more: that is, there was grandfather, father and son. And to amuse you, will tell you that one of their countrey men caught a fox, a salmon and a pheasant at one draught in a net: that is, the net was laid for the pheasant in a small wood near the sea side where was a wyer in which was a salmon, which the fox getting ran with it into the wood, and so into the net just as he was drawing for the pheasant, and so caught them all three.

The Montecapernian Cots are generally built on the side of a hill, not to be discerned till you just come upon them. The cottage is usually raised three feet from the eaves to the ground on the one side, and the other side hath a rock for a wall to save charges, in regard carriage is dear and money but scarce, especially to such who never see it but once in seven years, when out of pure devotion they go to the next market town in the season to receive the confirmation of their faith, by sipping of wine out of a silver cup, which the parson's wife sets all the year after for a grace on the cupboard, and frequently serves for a brandy-taster. If for nothing else but for their taking the sacrament you may know they are no heathens.

The hearth is placed in the middle of the house, and their fuel is made of earth and cow-dung⁽¹⁰⁾ dried in the sun. The smoke goes through no particular place, but breaks through every part between the rods or wattles of which they make their doors, sides, and roof of the house,⁽¹¹⁾ which commonly is no bigger than an overgrown pigstye, to which they have two doors, one always shut, on that side where the wind blows; from whence I believe it is that they brag they have the quickest architects in all the world, because they can build a house in a day.

The houses seem to mourn for the sterility of the country, being hung all in black, occasioned by the smoke, and but look up, you may see the oyle of smoke naturally extracted beyond the art of chymistry, hanging on the rods, which if it chance to fall upon your cloaths, I'll warrant you are marked for a black sheep, nor shall the art of man remove the stain.⁽¹²⁾

They delight not in variety of rooms, hating three stories as a zealot does the Triple-Crown: and that they may have all their family about them inclosed in one room, the good man and his wife have their bed

(10) This substitute for fuel is called *boián*, and is still used by cottagers.

(11) Campbell ("Phil. Survey," p. 146) alludes to the smoky condition of these houses. "Sometimes," he says, "they have a hole in the roof to let out the smoke, and sometimes none. For to have a chimney would be a luxury too great for the generality. The consequence is a house full of smoke, at least in the upper region, where it floats in thick clouds, the lower part being pretty clear of it. To avoid the acrimony of which you are obliged to stoop down, and the poor man of the house immediately offers you a low stool, that you may be, what he calls, out of the smoke. And this is, probably, the only stool in the house; for the children nestle round the fire almost naked, with their toes in the ashes. Even the women though not so naked, sit upon their hams in the same way. But in spite of their general adhesion to the ground, the old people are, for the most part, bleary-eyed, with pale and sooty faces."

(12) This unpleasant picture is presented in verse form in "Hespero-nesographia: or, a Description of the Western Isle," by W. M., Dublin, 1724, thus:

In midst of house a mighty fire
Of black dry'd earth and swingeing blocks
Was made enough to roast an ox;
From whence arose such clouds of smoke,
As either me or you wou'd choak:
But Gillo and his train inur'd
To smoak, the same with ease endur'd;
For sitting low, on rushes spread,
The smoak still hover'd over head;
And did more good than real harm,
Because it kept the long house warm,
And never made their heads to ake;
Therefore no chimney he wou'd make.

raised up about half as high as the roof, which is the teaster to their bed, made of straw or rushes according to cold or warm weather. The sheets are the woman's smock, which (if she be a good housewife) shall contain her smaller children on one side and her husband on the other, when closed up.⁽¹³⁾

They get into this bed by a stone or two set by the side. The man and wife lie at one end, and what children they have (boys and girls) lie at the other, their feet meeting all together, higgie-de-piggie-dee. The rest of the family they dispose of thus: a goat or an ewe they tye to the beds feet; over their heads roost their cocks and hens, and now and then show the nature of their name, foul the foul faces of their master and dame; this dung likewise serves instead of soap when they

And thus for smoak, altho' 'twas dear,
He paid four shillings every year;
And tho' his wife no muslin wore,
Nor silk, she was all spotted o'er
With new made ermin which did fall
From roof of house and side of wall
Which was with cow-dung plaister'd round,
With which the house did still abound.
Yet not so close but that the smoak,
Being long confin'd, through crannies broke,
And through the soft and f—n pores
And through the windows and the doors
Through which the wind so fast did blow
That for his life no man could know
Whether of both with lesser pain
The smoak or wind he could sustain.
And when the scorching fire burnt clear,
The rowling smoak did disappear,
And vanish into air that you
Each object could distinctly view."

This Hudibrastic piece of scurrility was written by an old pedagogue named Moffatt, who resided in Killala, Co. Mayo; and, although a most inferior composition is evidence of a strange literary taste that prevailed in the first half of the eighteenth century, since it ran into several editions.

(13) Otway in "Sketches in Erris and Trawly," Dublin 1841 p. 32, describes the sleeping arrangements in these remote districts at the commencement of the last century. "The floor is thickly strewed with fresh rushes, and stripping themselves entirely, the whole family lie down at once and together, covering themselves with blankets, if they have them, if not, with their day clothing, but they lie down decently, and in order; the eldest daughter next the wall farthest from the door, then all the sisters, according to their ages; next the mother, father, and sons in succession, and then the strangers, whether the travelling pedlar, or tailor or beggar; thus the strangers are kept aloof from the female part of the family, and if there be an apparent community, there is great propriety of conduct." This is what was called sleeping in "Stradogue."

have occasion to wash, which is but seldom, having nothing besides their cloaths to wear, but a neck cloth and a flannel smock.⁽¹⁴⁾

Their general food is a thin oatcake which they bake upon a broad flat stone made hot, a little sheeps-milk cheese, or goats milk, boyl'd leeks and some roots; but seldom eat flesh, or drink strong beer, but at fairs and public solemnities: and then it is pity, for at any time small beer will set their heads afloat and their tongues into a perpetual motion; talk of nothing but pedigrees, grow quarrelsome, fight with their own heels, and may be lose their stockings and shooes before they get home, which else might last them an age, in regard they never wear them but carry them on their backs, going barefoot till they come near a market town, where men and women alike, with an inch-pipe⁽¹⁵⁾ filled with pigs-tail or mundungus tobacco, and a great turf of fire to light it, sit down on the ground and put on their stockings and shooes to go in, and at their return, at the same place pull them off again—being more afraid to scratch their shooes than cut their feet and toes,⁽¹⁶⁾ whose skin is so hardened that men, women and children, in the midst of winter, go bare-foot on sharp stones, pieces of ice, edge or side, all alike to them. For which reason there are few shoemakers in the country, because commonly their shooes last them an age.

At other times their drink is either three parts water and a fourth milk, which they call Glastor, or a handful of crabs bruised and laid asoak in a bowl-full of running water for two or three hours. They have another sort of drink called whigg, which is a kind of sour whey. Likewise they have a drink called sicken-pen-son, cold water poured on the grains.

(14) There is an illustrated page prefixed to the original, in which six incidents in the voyage and the subsequent travels in the country are separately depicted. This and the preceding paragraph are rather vividly treated.

(15) This is an early reference to the short-stemmed pipe, the victim of the vulgar caricaturists peculiar to the first half of the last century.

(16) I once knew a half-witted rustic who was always equipped with a very substantial pair of heavily-nailed boots. These he mostly carried on his back to save what he considered needless wear and tear. In this manner he was one day walking on the high road and knocked one of his toes against a stone. "How fortunate," he joyfully exclaimed, "I had not my boots on as there would surely be a nail out!"

In the description of the Irish woman in "The Irish Hudibras," p. 61, the following lines bearing on this subject occur:

"Her stockings twisted like an harslet
She wore about her neck for bracelet;
And as Antipodes, the jade,
Carry'd her brogues upon her head:
Their naked trunks they thus expose,
To save th' expense of shooes and hose."

The people are naturally inclin'd to pride ; and to shew the antiquity of their family some of them derive themselves the immediate and next of kinde of Adam.

It is a thousand pities the people are so sloathful, being given to no manner of industry, husbandry or any other useful improvement, which partly occasions the barrenness of the countrey so much to appear, that otherwise by active spirits might easily evince the contrary: for though they have many hills, mountains and boggs, yet have they matchless rich vallies.

It may be conjectured their sloathfulness may in part be occasioned by their ignorance; some of the indifferent sort being brought up to read and, by the pretence of gentility, scorning a trade, never heed the farther improvement of their fortunes, or understanding, till the father dyes and the elder brother possess the estate.

They are a people generally envious, especially of the rise of their neighbours; naturally pragmatICAL and inquisitive after others affairs, and always blabbing and telling tales; and so litigious that they are ready to go to law if they see their neighbour's horse put his head over their hedge, or his goose at their barn's door.⁽¹⁷⁾

The women are infected with the like quarrelsome humour. I have seen two women about some trivial matter fall together by the ears; the men took each other's part, one neighbour seconded one and the next another till they had engaged two thirds of the town in the quarrel; and none of them knew for what they fought, or how the fray began;

⁽¹⁷⁾The following amusing story is related by W. H. Maxwell in his "Wild Sports of the West of Ireland" (Lon., 1832). It is asserted, but with what truth I cannot pretend to state, that the inhabitants of [the Island of] Inniskea are prone to litigation, and a curious legend of a lawsuit is told upon the main, illustrative of this their quarrelsome disposition. A century ago, two persons were remarkable here for superior opulence, and had become the envy and wonder of their poorer neighbours. Their wealth consisted of a flock of sheep, when, unfortunately, some trifling dispute occurring between them, a dissolution of partnership was agreed upon. To divide the flock one would suppose, would not be difficult, and they proceeded to partition the flock accordingly. They possessed one hundred and one sheep; fifty fell to each proprietor, but the odd one—how was it to be disposed of? Neither would part with his moiety to the other, and after a long and angry negotiation, the animal was left in common property between them. Although the season had not come round when sheep are usually shorn, one of the proprietors requiring wool for a pair of stockings, proposed that the fleece should be taken off. This was resisted by his co-partner, and the point was finally settled by shearing one side of the animal. Only a few days after, the sheep was found dead in a deep ditch: one party ascribed the accident to the cold feelings of the animal having urged him to seek a shelter in the fatal trench; while the other contended that the wool remaining upon one side had caused the wether to lose its equilibrium, and that thus the melancholy catastrophe was occasioned. The parties went to law directly, and the

and to be revenged the more of one another they sent the next opportunity for process in battery, trespass, scandal, and I know not what: and then to law they went (for they love it above anything). When they had spent their money, they were forced to put it to a reference, and then are at another charge in treating the arbitrators and their friends, who having feasted themselves, leave the business as they found it. And yet this great charge and trouble will not dissuade them from following these litigious courses, but are never at quiet but when they have some suit or other depending. Their lawyers take notice of the temper of the people, promote the differences in humouring their fancies, by which means they continually drain their pocket, and this is one great cause of their general poverty.

The commonalty are extremely awed by their superiors, in such sort, a tenant fears as much to speak against a Lord of the manor, or their next powerful neighbour, as wiser men would dread to speak treason against a prince under whose allegiance he lives and hath sworn to. And I have heard say that some of them will swear and forswear anything that may tend to the benefit of that landlord from whom he hath any dependance and think it no great crime.

Many notorious vices are among them, which they look upon to be things of another complexion; and this I believe proceeds from their ignorance in religion; and that ignorance is occasioned by their superiors, who in these latter years have ingrosted to themselves all churchlands and allowance for the clergy. In several places it is so small that six such portions will scarcely keep a single man alive.

I knew one that had to the value of but eighteen shillings money per annum to officiate in Divine Service on the Sabbath day; and therefore all the rest of the week he was forced to thatch, thresh, or wrought other ways for three pence a day.

The next thing we shall treat of is the particular parts of worship in their religion.

And first for Baptism, they generally do carry the child to the church as soon as born, if the church be near, where at the font the child is named by the godfathers and godmothers with a short ceremony; all

expenses of the suit actually devoured the produce of the entire flock, and reduced both to a state of utter beggary. Their descendants are pointed out to this day as being the poorest of the community, and litigants are frequently warned to avoid the fate of Malley and Malone."

Much may be, and undoubtedly was, said on both sides, but the judgment has not been handed down. The law of England applicable to such cases is dependent altogether on the evidence adduced as to the facts. An Irish brehon applying his rigid code would have felt very confident of his decision in such a case. The Brehon Law Code provided for such like extraordinary causes of action—see "The Book of Aicill," p. 375.

which Christian names, with the parents, are conjoined, which if wrote at length, would blot more paper than the titles of the Grand Seignior.

The women are of a very strong constitution, the middling sort hardly keeping their beds three days at a lying-in; and the fourth day will give no quarter to the groaning ale, fight the fifth, with the mark of the Lord of Northumberland's Arms under the Callicoe Hood which they wear for a kerchief.

Their marriages are made like bargains of old, like a pig in a poke unseen; for the parents meet over a cup of nappy ale, where making some bargain for wheat, oats, or any other necessary thing they want, at last strike up a match between their son and daughter:⁽¹⁸⁾ this serves instead of wooing, by which means the first meeting is seldom till the man comes to fetch the woman to church, attended with a rabble of all the relations, who must out of pure love not be sober that whole week, and then the next Sunday attend them to church again; and there ends the ceremony.

They have no scruples in their marriages (as I could hear of) for the nearest of kin often intermarries with the other, one man frequently marrying two sisters, etc.

Their burials retain something of the relicts of Popish ceremony: for next night after the decease of the person, every friend, neighbour and relation comes to his house, and brings each a candle, and a gun of ale, where this jovial crew light up their lights, making a good fire, and then drink remembrances of the dead, till some of them lose their own, and for want of feet stand in need as much of bearers home, as the corpse to the grave.⁽¹⁹⁾

When the time comes to carry it out, which is within three or four days after the decease of the person, the priest in his surplice walks before the guests, round the corps, all confusedly, and the corps in the middle: being near the church, the men put off their hats, and then men and women set up together such a hideous cry that I can resemble it to nothing more proper than to that drowning men make when the ship is sinking. This they continue till they come to the church where the priest in his own language reads a little service.

And here observe the policy of the priest: for having no certain fee allowed for burials, but by custom receives the free-will offering of the next of kin and friends to the deceased; he will be sure, for fear he lose any of the guests, to stop in the midst of the service, and leaving his book open, stands with his face directly against the corps, by which dumb signs, the people knowing his mind, they make their offering.

⁽¹⁸⁾ A lapse of two centuries has effected no apparent change in the matrimonial preliminaries in the South of Ireland.

⁽¹⁹⁾ T. C. Croker's "Keen of the South of Ireland," Lon., 1844, p. viii.

The first of kin goes to the Communion table and throws down his benevolence, perhaps a six pence, if he be a brother, or so near a relation. The rest by pence, or two pence, do so increase the parson's stock that it may amount to three or four shillings. After this he goes on merrily with the remaining part of the divine service; and having finished it, away to the ale-house, where he is sure to have his charge born for that day.⁽²⁰⁾

Another strange passage they have at their burials, which I had almost omitted; that is, they first give wheaten loaves to the poor, and as the corps stands at the door on a bier, the next of kin to the deceased taketh a new wooden bowl (never used) filled with the best liquor they have, and half a dozen wheaten loaves, with a good piece of cheese, and gives it to cross the corps to any whom he fancies to be the poorest beggar; who receives the same, and immediately drinks the liquor, with a blessing to the soul departed. Desiring to be satisfied concerning the meaning of that strange ceremony they answered, that the souls of the deceased in their rambles in the Elizium do meet with a sweet-tasting pleasant fountain, of which each soul doth drink his bowl; and if that ceremony were not performed at the burial of the deceased, they think that soul would want those necessaries in its supposed ramble thither.

Their Sunday is the most leisure-day they have, on which they use all manner of sport; in every field a fiddle, and the lasses footing it till they are all of a foam, and grow infinitely proud with the blear-eye of affection her sweet-heart casts on her feet as she dances to a tune, or no tune, play'd on an instrument that makes a worser noise than a key upon a gridiron.

Their greatest zeal is in keeping sacred some old sayings of their great grandsires, and preserving sacred some old relict of their grandmothers; in both of which they are so strict, that for the first if they hear one whistle in the night, they are afraid, and will avoid you, because, say they, our ancestors told us that such as whistle in the night convers'd with the Devil and call those spirits in the air together by such sound to confer with them.⁽²¹⁾

The relicts of their grandmothers are as severe, for if she leave but an old chair, a wooden spoon, or any other trifle to them, they will preserve it sacred, fearing to prejudice it in the least; should any such thing accidentally happen, they would absolutely conclude it did presage some harm ensuing.

(20) This disedifying practice, once very general, is still in vogue in a few Irish dioceses; and the clergy frequently collect from £60, to double that amount, at a burial!

(21) Whistling at night is still considered very improper and unlucky in the South.

They are great lovers of women, especially such of their own country ; and so unsensible of the guilt, that they glory in the crime, and brag of their spurious issue.

A gentleman of good note, whom I knew, had so many that he knew them not when he saw them : several strange women, whom he knew not, taking notice of this advantage, did frequently send their children to him, who to be rid of them quickly, gave them his formal blessing with some small piece of money.

More might be said in *laudem & vituperium*, in the praise and dispraise of Montecapernia ; but my stay being there but a very little, I wanted both information and further observation.

FINIS.

The Irish Attack on Youghal in 1642.

By MRS. DOROTHEA TOWNSHEND.



TRACT in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which gives an account of an exciting incident in the defence of Youghal, seems to have hitherto escaped the notice of Munster antiquaries. It is particularly interesting, as it supplies a blank in the "Lismore Papers." The Earl of Cork's Diary practically ceases about the beginning of 1642 ; and when the Irish were scaling his battlements he must have been a great deal too busy to write letters. So it chances that the whole episode has been unknown ; and the characteristic anecdotes of the great Earl come as fresh to us as they did to the English readers who bought the Newsletter.

The Tract is dated 1641, which, of course, is 1642 new style, and it is called :—

"God's Providence to the Distressed Protestants of Ireland, and the last Proceedings in the Province of Munster. Attested by two letters from Robert Pickering, clerk unto Sir Symon Harcourt, sergeant major of all the horse there arrived. The one dated Tollogh (sic), Jan. 20. The other at Youghall, Jan. 23, 1641. London. Printed for John Thorne." 6 pages.

The letters begin by telling that in the beginning of January Youghal

had surrendered to the Irish under Lord Roche and General Barry, "none of the town making any colour of resistance against them, though walled on the land side, and my lord of Cork there with 600 men; which is a sign that they were welcome unto the town, whatsoever they were unto the Earl. My Lord had some small notice of their coming, and therefore got with all his men into the castle very happily, and with what provision he could get either in the town or about, with leave or without. His Honour hath by credible report been at great charge in fortifying the Castle, which stands upon a rock and is very strongly seated; but it is very greatly to be feared that he will want victuals before he can obtain relief." It may be remembered that the great Earl of Cork was at this time seventy-five years of age, and so hardly fitted to endure the hardship of a siege. The narrative continues that Lord Cork then sent for an Irish footman whom he had trusted for many years, and promised him if he would go to Tallow, then to Lord Dungarvan at Lem Con, and to Lismore to the Earls of Barrymore and Kildare, to beg for help, he should have a reward of a hundred pounds, and a pension for life of twenty marks. "And so let him down the castle wall by a knotted rope, when the tide had only flowed one hour, first taking him by the hand; for on other occasions he had used the passages of the ford and knew them well," and that no one was likely to venture to pursue him. "And Domenick being down, only said, I warrant you, my Lord; and gave the rope three shakes, and away in such a stealing manner they could not hear the water stir," and "came that very evening about nine of the clock unto Tollogh, related unto Sir Symon the Earl's estate and how he came forth, and to what end, eat something with us, and away to Lismore, eighteen long Irish miles, and from thence to Lem Con, nine miles." Meantime Lieut-Colonel Douglas, who was at Tallough, "with 500 tall Scots," started "at his own entreaty, unto the aid of my Lord of Cork," but taking only his footman, an Irishman, as guide, a man whom he had trusted and employed for long, was led by him into an ambush three miles from Youghal, where the Scots were set on by Sir Denis Butler and driven into the bogs, where they stuck fast and were cut off to a man." The English and Scots were evidently unused to bogs and exceedingly terrified by them—the dangers of sinking in bog are dwelt on again and again.

Dominic had however sped better than the Scots, and did his business so well, that on the Thursday, Lord Cork's sons-in-law, the Earls of Kildare and Barrimore, with Captain John Paget, Capt. Herbert

Nicholas, "a gentleman well experienced in the wars in the Queen's time," Captain Bannister, and Captain Ducke, were under arms with 4,000 men, "the chieftest and most being my Lord's tenants. These marched in good order and better resolution, vowing that they would either quite clear my Lord, their great Landlord, or that Youghal should prove their grave." "When this resolute crew came within a mile and a half of Youghal the rebels united came out stoutly in battalia against us, in number, to our deeming, some 6,000, having the odds of us in number somewhat, although we had it of them in arms and men. Sir Symon did not approve of charging them with horse at the first because he was jealous of the ground, hearing of so miserable a chance of the Scots but three days before." Captain Baget assured him that he knew the ground perfectly, and that it was firm and sure both for horse and man; yet Sir Symon would not charge with horse, but only flanked them and brought up the foot "in main battalia very slowly, commanding to give fire at such and such distances." The enemy received the first and second volley very manfully and answered it resolutely; but at the third volley they began manifestly to fail, whereon grew a difference between Sir Symon and Captain Paget," and the van marched up to the very beards of the rebels who dropped exceeding fast, and not able to withstand the fierceness of our fire they not only retreated but took to their heels, then Sir Symon cried, "After them, Cavaliers, but not too far, for fear of bogs." General Barry was mortally wounded in this encounter, so the English lost no time in hanging him, and set up his head on the walls. Lord Cork met his rescuers "in the midst of the town and heartily congratulated us all, for his keepers [jailors] would wait no longer upon him, seeing they were likely to lose both fees and prisoner."

The Irish had attacked the Castle furiously with light wooden and rope ladders and got up on the battlements, "but were sent down in greater haste than they came thither."

This appears to have been the only time that the Irish actually got inside Youghal; but they kept it closely besieged, and its defenders suffered such hardships "as made," wrote the Earl of Cork, "a rich churchyard." For eighteen months longer the gallant old man defended Youghal, counselling and heartening the Munster garrison with his last breath; and there under his great tomb in Youghal church he lies at rest.

Early Quakers in Cork.

BY COLONEL THOS. A. LUNHAM, C.B., M.A., M.R.I.A.



WILLIAM PENN was despatched to Ireland in the autumn of 1665 (some say in 1667) by his father, the admiral, to take charge of the latter's property in the county Cork. With the exception of a brief visit to London, he resided here about two years. During an insurrection he performed the duties of a soldier, but hearing, on one occasion, his old college friend, Thomas Lee, preach, his ancient fervour revived, his conversion was complete, and from that hour he was a Quaker. When attending a meeting of Friends in Cork, he and the rest of the congregation were arrested, and brought before the mayor. The latter's attention had that same year been directed to the conventicles held in the city and suburbs, and Lord Orrery had ordered that those attending them should be punished. The mayor, it seems, offered to release Penn on condition of his giving security not to again offend, but this he manfully refused to do. After a month's imprisonment he was, however, eventually set at liberty by Lord Orrery. "Religion," said Penn, in his appeal to that nobleman, "which is at once my crime and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor's malice, but a free man to myself."

The celebrated George Fox, when itinerating through Ireland in 1669, thus records his experiences in Cork:—"He that was then Mayor of Cork was very envious against truth and Friends, and had (lodged?) many Friends in prison; and knowing that I was in the country he sent forth four warrants to take me; wherefore Friends were desirous that I might not ride through Cork. But being in Bandon, there appeared unto me in a vision, a very ugly-visaged man, of a black and dark look. My spirit struck at him, in the power of God; and it seemed to me that I rid over him with my horse, and my horse set his foot on the side of his face. When I came down in the morning, I told a Friend that was with me, that the command of the Lord was to me to ride through Cork; but bade him tell no man. So we took horse, many Friends being with me, and when we came near the town the Friends would have showed me a way on the backside of the town; but I told

them my way was through the streets. Wherefore taking one of them with me (whose name was Paul Morrice) to guide me through the town, I rode on; and as we rode through the market place and by the Mayor's door, the Mayor, seeing me ride by, said, 'There goes George Fox'; but he had not power to stop me. When we had passed through the centinels, and were come over the bridge, we went to a Friend's house and alighted; and then the Friends told me what a rage was in the town, and how many warrants were granted forth to take me. While I was sitting there with Friends, I felt the evil spirit at work in the town, stirring up mischief against me; and I felt the power of the Lord strike at that evil spirit. By and by some other Friends coming in told me 'that it was over the town and amongst the magistrates that I was in the town'; I said, 'Let the devil do his worst.' So, after a while, that Friends were refreshed, one in another, and we who were travellers had refreshed ourselves, I called for my horse, and having a Friend to guide me, we went on our way. But great was the rage that the Mayor and others of Cork were in that they had missed me, and great pains they afterwards took to have taken me, having their scouts abroad upon the roads (as I understood) to observe which way I went, and afterwards there was scarce a public meeting I came to, but there came spies to watch if I were there, and the envious magistrates and priests sent informations one to another concerning me, describing me by my hair, hat, clothes, and horse, so that when I was come an hundred miles from Cork they had an account concerning me and descriptions of me before I came amongst them."—Fox, "Journal," pp. 327-8.

Fox appears to have applied the term "priest" to clergymen of both denominations indifferently. Matthew Deane was mayor in 1669.

In the year 1721 John Exham, of Charleville, died. "Having been convinced, whilst a soldier, about the year 1658, and being faithful, according to his sense of duty, he became zealously concerned to visit the small gatherings of Friends in those early days, having received a gift in the ministry, which, although somewhat obscured by natural infirmities, yet in the exercise thereof he did oftentimes deliver wholesome and profound truths."

About the year 1667 he proclaimed repentance and amendment of life through the streets of Cork, his head being covered with hair cloth and ashes, for which he suffered imprisonment, so little was street preaching, even at that time, appreciated in Cork. He was concerned in the like exercise in 1698, with what result, however, we are not informed.

In the year 1710, being then upwards of 81 years of age, he undertook a religious visitation of Friends through the country, although he was then almost blind. Whilst residing at Charleville he was seized by an impulse to visit the splendid mansion of the Earl of Orrery, at a time when the house was full of company, whom he earnestly called to repentance, and denounced the Lord's judgment and woe to that great house, "and that it should be destroyed and become an habitation for the fowls of the air." The servants endeavoured to remove him, but the Earl interfered and ordered them "to let the honest man speak." Having duly delivered his soul, he departed, but presently returning, he called for the Earl, and thus addressed him—"Because thou has been kind and loving to the servant of the Lord, the evil shall not be in thy days." The event, we are assured, answered the prediction: "for the house above-mentioned, in the time of the late wars, since the decease of the Earl above-named, was destroyed by fire, and visibly became an habitation for the fowls of the air, which built their nests in it."—(Vid. Wight's "Hist. of the Quakers in Ireland," ed. Rutt, p. 273).

John Exham died in the ninety-second year of his age, having been a minister sixty years, and retained his zeal and integrity to the last.

Another eminent member of the Society died in 1729. Joseph Pike, the son of Richard Pike, of Newbury, in Berkshire, who came over to Ireland in Cromwell's army, in which he served until *circa* 1655, "when by means of the ministry of Edward Burrough he was convinced of the truth, and for conscience' sake could not use arms for the destruction of mankind, and was, therefore, turned out of the army, and died a prisoner for the testimony of a good conscience," *ætatis suæ*, 70. His son, Joseph, was born at Kilcrea, county Cork, "Upon whose tender mind the Divine Spirit began to work very early, even before he was seven years old, drawing it off from childish playfulness and vanities, from which time until he arrived at the age of eighteen years, he underwent great conflicts of soul, and at length grew up to be an useful member of the Church, though never exempt from temptations and trials of faith. He was a man of self-denial, being often led to take up the cross and deny himself of things otherwise very lawful, as to eating, drinking, putting on apparel, when he found his mind too strongly inclined to them." Although not actually called to the ministry, he seems to have been "eminently gifted for Christian discipline, and zealous in the prosecution thereof." In company with Samuel Randal, he was accustomed to attend the half-yearly meetings in Dublin, for

some twenty years, and frequently the yearly one in London. He took an active part in the reformation among Friends of the various abuses which had crept into the Body—"Divers disorders in conversation, superfluities in apparel, furniture, and other things, setting an example by first cleaning their own houses of what they condemned in others"; the result being, apparently, satisfactory—at any rate as far as externals, both in the province of Munster and elsewhere. Pike seems to have written his Journal in 1728. He had previously published "A Treatise concerning Baptism and the Supper, shewing that the one Baptism of the Spirit and Spiritual Supper of the Lord are only Essential and necessary to Salvation, wherein the strongest arguments for the use of outward baptism and the Supper are considered, and the people called Quakers are vindicated; and the objections against them for the disuse of these signs are answered. By J. P." London, printed by J. Sowle, White Hart Court, in Gracious St., 1710 (small 8vo., pp. 242, besides preface and table of contents). The Preface, which is addressed to the "Friendly Reader," concludes—"Thy well-wishing friend, Joseph Pike, Cork, the 1st day of the 9th Month, 1709." This worthy's character is thus delineated by a contemporary: "He was a man of a clear understanding, sound judgment, tender over the weak where tenderness appeared, but sharp against the highminded and stubborn; in conversation solid and weighty, without affectation, yet cheerful and agreeable without levity; a worthy elder, ruling his own house well, and of great service in the Church." (*O si sic omnes!*) Pike has left us the following interesting notices of the siege of Cork. Sept. 28, 1690. "In the seventh month, 1690, Cork was besieged by the English. The Lord Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, commanded the siege, McGillicuddy being then the Irish Governor of the city. He was a rude, boisterous man, and gave out that he intended to burn the suburbs; upon which the inhabitants, English and Irish, treated with him to save them, and agreed to give him £500 in silver, most of which was gathered and paid to him; yet I could not trust his word, and removed the best of my goods, and thereby saved them. Notwithstanding which, he afterwards, without giving the least notice, burned both the north and south suburbs, whereby not only the houses but much goods were destroyed. The town was delivered up in a few days; and about 4,000, with the Governor, taken prisoners, some of whom were put into our meeting-house, so that Friends had to meet in another place. When the town was delivered up, the prisoners, computed at about 4,000, were

put into the places of worship, so that Friends met in a back place belonging to Thomas Wright's house; and the weather being wet, the English soldiers, as well as Irish prisoners, grew very sickly, and great numbers died, so that they buried them in a large hole or pit, almost every day. The citizens were also infected, and very many died, and the city became like an hospital, in a dismal condition, for a long time. At length many of the prisoners ran away, and others that remained were let go, but the Governor and chiefs were sent to the Tower of London. The Protestants were shut up in prisons and houses with guards over them, but Friends were at liberty, the Irish believing there was no danger from us, so that if the city had been taken by storm, as it was on the point of being, humanly speaking, we should have been slain with the Irish."

The following entry occurs in the Register of Freemen of the City of Cork, 1656-1782, copied by the late Dr. Caulfield from the original:—"May 27, 1685, Joseph Pike, presented to the Council by Edward Webber, Esq., then Mayor, as his Freeman, and thereupon ordered that he be admitted and allowed as a Freeman of the City" (MS. penes me).

In the succeeding century—especially in the early portion of it—a peculiar animosity appears to have been exhibited against members of the Society in Cork, judging from the facts disclosed in the correspondence of the mayor with the authorities of Dublin Castle, and various private letters from individual sufferers; I subjoin a few extracts, which I have copied from the originals, preserved in the Record Office, Dublin.

"Corke, May 24, 1720.

Sir—Since the execution of James Cotter, Esq., there has been so many persons (sic) insulted, assaulted, and abused, both in town and county, of Quakers, by others, that I could no longer withhold informing the Government thereof. Inclosed I send two papers as a specimen of the resentment of some people on the occasion. I have daily accounts of some one or other affronted, injured, and threatened. I have done all it is possible I could to put a stop to these proceedings. I have sent to the Popish clergy and ordered them to warn their people, but still I find nothing can reclaim some sort of people, and, therefore, thought necessary to give Government account thereof, and submit to their judgment the proper means to put a stop to these proceedings.—I am, with due respect, your honour's most humble and most obedient servant,

JOHN TERRY, Mayor."

"The examination of Rachel Carleton, servant to Eben Pike, of the City of Cork, merchant, taken the 31st May, 1720, who being duly sworn, saith that on or about the 16th day of this instant May, this informant being and walking in the evening of the said day, near Shandon Church Yard, in the north suburbs of the City of Cork, in company of Sarah, the daughter of Eben Pike, and one Mary Jacob (both Quakers), at which time said examinant and said Mary were followed by a crowd of little boys who cried out to them, viz., 'Two Quakers,' and 'Will you be Cottered,' and repeated the same words several times. Then a greater company gathered together, which increased at last to the number, as the Examinant believes, of about 200 men, women, and children, among whom was a person whose name said Examinant is informed is Joan Corcoran, a widow, dwelling near the same place, which Joan, at the head of the rioters, assaulted the said Sarah Pike and Mary Jacob, threw several stones at them, one of which lighted on the back of the said Sarah, and the other on the said Mary Jacob, and then the mob, in a violent and insulting manner, abused the Quakers, and the said Joan swore that she would tear them to pieces, and that they should not go home alive, on which the said Sarah and Mary were glad to fly into a house hard by to save themselves from further damage, where the said Quakers stayed until a guard of constables came to the house and conducted them home.

Signed, Rachel Carleton, her X mark.

JOHN TERRY, Mayor."

Jurat coram me.

"Examination of J. Leary, going on his lawful business to Loatah (Lota), was assaulted by a servant man, who swore 'his heart's blood was too little for him.' He was stopped by two persons, who assaulted him with a stick and sword, and swore that they would have his life, as he was the person who stopped Mr. Cotter when he had endeavoured to make his escape from the jail at Cork."—(MSS., Record Office).

Letter from Joseph Hore to Amos Strettell, "Merchant at Dublin." "They (the mob) got within the ditches, and not only call abundance of names, and say they will have the blood of thousands of us, but have in several places thrown abundance of stones after some that were travelling the road, especially at Mitchelstown. Sam Cherry and James Russell, with others, as they passed through that place yesterday, were assaulted at three several times, and at the hither end of the town were

some fellows, within a thick hedge, that threw abundance of stones at them, one of which hit J. Russell in the back of his head, which hurt him very much, as well as stunned him for a short time, but they got away as fast as they could, because the fellows were making motion to others at a distance to do the like, and the said man was fain to ride a long way with his blood running down his back, being afraid of being murdered if he stopped to dress his wound. Also John Fennell and Reuben Fisher, four days' since, had abundance of great stones thrown at them. I could give abundance more instances, etc. There is great danger of several of our friends being murdered. It is very much in the power of the priests and leading men of them to keep them quiet, as was plainly demonstrated when presently after Cotter was convicted the Irish was (sic) very outrageous and abusive to our people, and then Cotter sent to all the priests of this part of the country, upon which they immediately desisted, and were in general very quiet, until they knew he would be executed, after which they began again, and are now so bloodthirsty that they would murder us all if in their power."—*Ibid.*

The James Cotter referred to in the above documents was son of Sir James Cotter, of Annegrove, county Cork, who had commanded in chief for King James in Munster during the wars of 1690-91. He had been Governor of Cork City, and represented it in King James' Irish Parliament. He is mentioned in the Carte MSS. as a Collector of H. M. Revenue, and Harris ("Life of William III.," app. p. xxxiv.) says:—"This is he who murdered Lord Lisle in Switzerland." The hopeful son, James, junior, was the hero of an adventure the consequences of which are thus narrated by the author of "Annals of Cork, 1644-1755," printed by me in the current number of the "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland," pp. 65-9. Under date 1720—"John Terry, Mayor. James Cotter was hanged on a single post at the Gallows Green, by a staple and ring (the gallows being broken down the night before), for committing a rape on Elizabeth Squibb, a Quaker (sic), in a wood near Fermoy. Said Cotter, the day before he suffered, having procured a blunderbuss and case of pistols to be conveyed to him in the gaol, got his bolts off, and endeavoured to make his escape, but was stopped in the street by the sentinel, and Taylor and his assistants at the stairfoot." Froude states that the victim of the outrage alluded to was daughter of a Quaker merchant at Cork, and "that justice should not be defrauded of its due, through

the connivance of the city officials the Quakers maintained a watch of their own upon the gaol, and prevented an attempt at escape which was almost successful. All Cork and all the South of Ireland burst into a wail of rage, and the Friends were marked for retribution. Placards covered the walls. Quaker girls were mobbed in the streets of Cork, and threatened with being 'Cottered.' No Quaker could show in the streets," etc.—"English in Ireland," vol. i., p. 432 (first edition). Two of the placards are given at length by Froude; they are the documents forwarded by the mayor to Dublin, and specified in his letter.

"The following lines," writes the mayor, "were posted at the Land's End, going down to the house of Edward Fenn, Quaker:—"Vengeance belongeth to Me; I will repay, saith the Lord.' Now, look to it, ye hell-born crew. Cotter's life shall be a sting to your cursed carcasses that shall be meat for dogs, and your cursed souls to burning Acheron, where they will burn in flames during eternity. Fenn, look sharp, and also other bursengutted dogs besides, the which were instruments of taking Cotter's breath. Other blackguard dogs look sharp. God save King James the Third, of England King, the whom will soon pay anguish and punish in this matter."—Quoted by Froude, *loc. cit.*

Professor Froude remarks "that the violation, and not any supposed conspiracy, was the offence for which Cotter was executed, is quite certain."

The persecution of young Quakeresses seems to have received a check by the decided action of a member of the Society, whose daughter had been insulted by a ruffian at the market. Her father lost no time in procuring a warrant from the mayor for the arrest of the offender, who was summarily tried and sentenced to be flogged from North to South Gate, the sturdy Quaker marching by the side of the hangman to ensure the due performance of his duty.

A Petition of the Quakers, June 11, 1720, declares—"That since the Execution of James Cotter for the rape he committed on the body of Elizabeth Squibb, many Quakers have been assaulted and grossly abused," etc.,—MSS., Dublin Castle.

Raths Lisses, and Duns of the Great Island, or Innismore.

BY F. J. HEALY, B.L.



INNISMORE, or the Great Island, known in ancient days as Oilean Ard Nemeidh, and in more modern Norman Celtic dress as Barrymore Island, upon which the town of Queenstown (formerly Cove) is built, is, as all local archæologists are aware, one of the most likely places in Munster to find a large number of those earthen raths or duns, found in nearly every part of Ireland where stone is not abundant. They generally consist of an elliptical entrenchment, the area of which is slightly raised above the surface of the adjoining land. This abundance of Rathes, Lisses, and Duns is due to the successive swarms of colonists, traders, and invaders who naturally made for Cork Harbour and landed on the Great Island, the recent discoveries of Roman coins at Cuskinny proving the truth of this. The word "Lis" or "Lios" is used by the people to describe a small circular enclosure principally for the keeping of cattle, and situate near a supply of water. The "Rath," which stands generally upon an eminence, is of larger area than the "Lis," and within or upon it were the habitations of the people. The "Dun" was an insulated fort, generally the residence of the chief, and his immediate retainers. Upon it very often the Norman nobles and those of the chiefs who surrendered to the crown the lands of their sept and obtained regrants of the same to themselves by feudal tenure, erected baronial castles to perpetuate the idea of supremacy over their followers. Ledwich, in his book upon the "Antiquities of Ireland," at p. 279 of the second edition, agrees with the views of Giraldus Cambrensis and Hanmer in thinking that the Lisses and Rathes are of Danish origin, principally constructed by Turgesius; and with Spenser in making the Lis a place of assemblage for the Irish. Popular tradition certainly does ascribe them to the Danes, but at the present day nearly all Irish antiquaries are agreed in thinking that Harris, the editor of "Ware's Antiquities," and the late Dr. Caulfield, in his Bandon lecture, were quite right in arguing for the

Celtic origin of these erections, and that their original object was to afford the inhabitants secure shelter for themselves and their cattle, though many may have been captured by Danish invaders, and many used as places of assemblage, and for the administration of the Brehon Code during the middle ages. Their being mentioned in the early Annals, and there being, as I have myself seen, so many raths around the Palace of Tara, points indisputably to their Celtic origin. No doubt very many of them, especially near the coast, were seized and held by the Ostmen for a number of years, and hence arose the popular idea of their Danish origin; but this belief has no more to really recommend it than the firm belief in the existence of underground passages leading from one rath to another, or the belief in "Fairy Rings," generally found near Rathes, i.e., Rings in the grass within the circle of which no dew can be seen in the early morning, while all around the grass is thick with dew. This absence of dew is, to use a pun, simply due to the fact that these rings formed the ancient cooking places of the inhabitants of the raths, and were used as kitchens for cooking their food: and if one digs some feet beneath the surface of a "Fairy" Ring one will inevitably come across the stratum of blackened stones, which even still are responsible for what to the country folk appears a supernatural absorption. The only reason I can adduce for the Rathes and Lisses being elliptical in shape is the fact that, though intended to be circular, our ancestors had no compasses, and had to do the best they could by rule of thumb.

Having said so much concerning Rathes in general, I come to deal with those particular ones which are the subject of this paper. Mr. Feargus O'Farrell, of Redington House, in his most valuable papers upon "The Topography and Traditions of the Great Island and Cork Harbour," supplied to our Hon. Sec., Mr. James Coleman, M.R.S.A., and which appeared in volume iii. of the first series of this "Journal," states that "The Great Island would appear to have been thickly populated in prehistoric times, judging by the number of the Rathes or Lisses that were on it, twenty-three of which can be traced by the aid of the Ordnance map and the fragments of them still remaining." I have not been able to trace more than seventeen, viz., roughly speaking—three at Newtown, three at Lissaniskea, three at Fanick or Rosslaag, three at Carrignafof, one at Ballydulea or Ballywilliam, one at Ballymore, one at Ballybrassil, one at "Pender's" Hill, and one at Kilbukkery Harbour. I have no doubt, however, that Mr. O'Farrell is quite right,



DUN-NA-GALL (*Looking East*).



LISSANISKEA (*Looking South*).

and I am sure he will be kind enough to supplement this paper by further valuable information respecting the additional six which he states can be traced on the Island. Of the three at Newtown there is but one (a small Lis, nearly obliterated, immediately above the Norwood Convent) which I could find; the others, which were situate upon property in the immediate possession of the Right Hon. Lord Barrymore (Council Member), have disappeared completely. Of the three upon the townland of Lissaniskea (or Lissinesky, as it is styled in the lease of 18th November, 1652, referred to by Mr. Coleman in his interesting article on "A Great Island Lawsuit in the House of Lords," vol. iii., p. 62) one is a Dun of large size, as will be seen by the photo. It is 40 by 34 yards transverse diameter outside measurement, and about six feet from the field level. It is called "Dun-na-Gall," and gives the name of Donegal to the immediately adjoining townland, having got the name "Fort of the Foreigners" probably from having been taken by the Danes, or by a rival sept.

At Lissaniskea one is on the property of Mr. Denis McCarthy, of Lissaniskea, the Rural District Councillor, who, to his credit be it said, keeps it in excellent preservation. The second, a Rath, has completely disappeared, and portion of it is occupied by the residence of Mrs. Cotter. This R had a stream of water running through it, hence the name Lisani~~sky~~^{ay}, or "the Fort of the Water," now given to the whole townland. The third, a Lis on the lands of Mrs. Mary Buckley, near Ballard, is splendidly preserved, and is by far the best on the Island, as illustration shows. Mrs. Buckley has informed me of her intention never to injure or disturb this Lis while she has control of the place, and says that her late respected husband asked her before his death never to do so. It would be well if all Irish farmers held the same opinions as Mr. Buckley regarding the antiquities of their country. This Lis has an outside height of six feet, and an inside height of five feet, and is 34 yards by 24 transverse diameter outside measurement.

Of the three at Fanick or Rosslaag not one vestige save the indentation in the ground remains. One of them, according to Mr. O'Farrell, was called the Chief's Rath or Lis, on account of the Chief of the Great Island (see vol. iii., p. 35, for name in Gaelic characters) having lived there, its site having been one of the most central on the Great Island, and commanding an extensive view all around. On the 11th of April last the present occupier of the lands, Mr. Michael McCarthy, ex-R.D.C., admitted to me at the Queenstown Junction railway station that he

caused these lisses to be all removed, though, perhaps, his predecessors had begun this removal, and that he offered his active assistance to a neighbouring farmer, Mr. McKenna, of Ballymore, to remove another from his lands, which still stands opposite Ballymore Church, near a large lough.

The three at Carrignafoy are also gone. One stood near Mr. Byrne's house, another behind my house—Wilmount House, on The Ranch market-garden of Mr. Glasson, and the third, and, as Mr. O'Farrell justly remarks, the largest, was situated on top of Carrignafoy hill, one field west of the reservoir of the Queenstown water supply. Its remains show it to have been double the diameter of any other Rath or Lis on the Island, and about it hangs a curious legend. It is said that about one hundred and fifty years ago, when Carrignafoy was occupied by a number of families of the Healys, who gave their name to "Healy's Road" in the vicinity, a small Dutch man-o'-war entered the harbour, and a number of officers landed from the vessel, bringing with them some very ancient maps of the locality which they said they got in Reikjavik, the capital of Iceland. They, from these documents, located a certain portion of this great Rath, and employed a number of the Healys and their men to commence at once excavating there. The work began early in the morning, about ten o'clock, and owing to the number of men employed very considerable progress had been made about two, when the Danes suggested to the Healys that they (the Irishmen) should all go to their dinner, and that they (the Danes), now reinforced by several of their crew, would continue the work during their absence. Nothing loth, their kindness was availed of. The Healys went off, and the last they saw of the Danes were these vikings hard at work on the rath, for lo and behold, upon returning to the rath, an hour later, there was no sign of them; and soon after, on going over in the direction of the Holy Ground, the Danish vessel was seen getting under weigh to quit the Irish shores for ever with what was now thought to be hidden Danish treasure.

The Rath at Ballydulea or Ballywilliam, on the property of Mr. French, D.L., is nearly gone. What is left is about 22 yards long, and it was 32 yards in diameter. The Rath on "Pender's" or Prendergast's Hill (see vol. iii., p. 54, for Irish name in Gaelic characters), near Ballinacrusha, on Lord Barrymore's property, has also disappeared. But those at Ballymore, Ballybrasil, and Kilbukkery or Killookarey still remain. The one at Kilbukkery Harbour is just beside Mr. Gumbleton's

"Glen of the Holly Trees"—"Gleann an Cullen" (see vol. iii., p. 54, for name in Gaelic characters), and was of very great size, for though a large portion of it has disappeared, it is tilled inside as a potato garden. It is almost immediately over the cave where the priest of the Great Island used celebrate mass during the penal days. Some of the embankments of this rath are not less than twelve feet high. As far as I can ascertain, therefore, there are about five Rathes, Lisses, and Duns extant on Innismore at present, ten completely obliterated, and two nearly destroyed. If there have been destroyed within living memory twice the number of Rathes, Lisses, and Duns at present existing on the Island, how many of them must have been wiped out during the last five or six centuries, for I do not believe they were inhabited after the period of the battle of Clontarf, a fact which shows how much denser the population was in the dim past. And when a popular gentleman like Mr. Michael McCarthy, can take a pride in the removal of three of those interesting national relics, and three or four have also vanished from the lands immediately in the possession of such a deservedly popular Council Member of our Society as the Right Hon. Lord Barrymore, for whose patriotic work in the preservation of Belvelly Castle all antiquarians justly honour and revere him, may I not, without giving any offence to anyone, suggest it is high time steps should be taken for the preservation of those that remain. Though they probably owe their existence to-day to the superstitions of the people, I am sure no members of our Society agree with the views held by Mr. M. J. Fitzgerald McCarthy, B.A., B.L., regarding them where he alludes to them in "Five Years in Ireland" as "those accursed breeding grounds of superstition." The hard-pressed Irish farmer, made still more utilitarian by the advance of education and peasant proprietorship, is already looking askance at what were once objects of dread.

I think that concerted action should be taken by the Archæological Societies of Cork, Waterford, Kildare, "Kilkenny," Dublin, and Ulster to get a small amending Act passed through Parliament to have all the most perfect in each parish of these Rathes, Lisses, and Duns declared "Ancient Monuments," and vest them in the Commissioners of Works, or in the County Council, under 61 and 62 Vic., c. 37, s. 19. The great flaw, to my mind, in the 45 and 46 Vic., c. 73, "Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882," is the exceedingly small list of Irish ancient monuments in the schedule to which the Act applies. Then, in section 1 of 55 and 56 Vic., c. 46, "The Irish Act to Amend the

Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882," nothing can be done by section 1 except (a) the Commissioners are of opinion that "the preservation of any ancient or mediæval structure, erection, or monument, or of any remains thereof, is a matter of public interest by reason of the historic, traditional, or artistic interest attaching thereto," and (b) "By the request of the owner," "the owner may request," etc. I consider that, as in section 6 (1) of the 63 and 64 Vic., c. 34, an Act applying to England and Scotland only, the expression "ancient monument" ought to have the very widest signification; and that another Irish Bill ought to embody this idea and extend the aegis of the law over our Rathes, Lisses, and Duns, as well as over all Cashels, Cathairs, Cromlechs, Gallawns, Pillar Stones, Cranogues, and Cairns.

I cannot more fittingly conclude this paper than by again citing Dr. Caulfield's words as they appeared in the last number of this "Journal": "If I were asked what were the most ancient remains now existing in Ireland, I would certainly point out those earthworks which are so thickly scattered through some parts of the country and are known among the peasants by the name of Rathes. Many of these curious remains are now fast disappearing before the progress of railways; others have been sacrificed by the industrious and improving agriculturist. The supernatural agency which was supposed to lurk about them, which for ages, like a guardian angel, preserved them, is fast losing its influence, and so I may be permitted here to lift up my voice on their behalf and request of those gentlemen on whose property they may exist that when not absolutely necessary for some great and permanent benefit, the hand of man will spare these and other landmarks of ages lost perhaps for ever in the night of time." Dr. Caulfield's voice is now, alas, stilled for ever. He has left to Corkmen by his labours an imperishable name. These words of his require now a thousand times more consideration from us than when he first gave utterance to them in Bandon nearly forty years ago. Since then the law has supplied us with machinery by which his wishes may be carried out completely if we but bestir ourselves ere it is too late and those most interesting relics of antiquity vanish for ever from our land.

Note.—In the opinion of some Irish antiquarians the supposed Danish origin of the Rathes may be due to a confusion with the Tuatha De Danaan tribes who probably originally erected them. Dr. Joyce says in his book, "Irish Names of Places," that the fact that rathes and lisses are not of Danish origin is shown by their being more numerous in localities where the Danes never gained a footing



REMAINS OF RATH, BALLYDULEA (*Looking North*).

than where they had settlements. Rath and Lisses are mentioned in "The Book of Leinster," "The Book of Armagh," "The Book of Ballymote," "Annals of the Four Masters," and very many other ancient Celtic records; and indeed they may have continued to be erected and inhabited down to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. It may be, as suggested by Dr. Joyce, that the Rath was the circular entrenchment, and the Lis the space enclosed by the Rath. Often Rath, Lios, and Dun appear to be applied synonymously.

The Cork Cuvierian and Archæological Society.

By ROBERT DAY, F.S.A.



IN reading Mr. Coleman's (our Secretary's) notes on Doctor Caulfield's contributions to the "Gentleman's Magazine," and his reference to the Cork Cuvierian Society, many old and pleasant memories were recalled of its monthly meetings, which, for a period of sixty years, were held on the first Wednesday of the autumn and winter months in the Library of the Royal Cork Institution, where the chairs at both sides of the long central table were occupied by members, many of whose names will be long associated with the most highly-cultured and learned life of Cork during the nineteenth century. The chief aim of the Society, which was founded in 1835, was "the promotion of the Sciences." The admission to its membership was by ballot, and its officers were a President, two Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer. The book containing its earlier minutes, which was kept by Mr. John Humphreys, is not available, but after his death the records were preserved in a folio volume, which is among the writer's books, with the following note on the inside cover: "This collection of the reports of the Cork Cuvierian and Archæological Society was made by Richard Caulfield, LL.D., F.S.A., citizen of Cork. Floreat Corcagia." In this there is no continued list of the members, but among its associates and founders were James Roche,⁽¹⁾ R. Sainthill,⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾James Roche was the author of "Critical Essays of an Octogenarian," 2 vols. 8vo. 50 copies. Cork, 1850.

⁽²⁾Richard Sainthill, of Topsham, Devon, an eminent numismatist, wrote an "Olla Podrida," 2 vols. Imp. 8vo., privately printed.

John Lindsay,⁽³⁾ Robert J. Lecky,⁽⁴⁾ John Windele,⁽⁵⁾ the Rev. Matthew Horgan, P.P. of Garrycloyne; Alderman Richard Dowden (Richard),⁽⁶⁾ J. C. Allman, Rev. W. C. Neligan, LL.D.; Thomas Jennings, F. M. Jennings, M.R.I.A.; Doctor Boole, F.R.S.;⁽⁷⁾ Charles Porter, LL.D.;⁽⁸⁾ Abraham Abel, Joseph W. Leycester, Professor R. Harkness, F.R.S.; Hodder and Ralph Westropp, Professor Murphy, Sir John Benson, Joseph Wright, F.G.S.;⁽⁹⁾ Rev. J. H. O'Brien, D.D.; Rd. Rolt Brash, M.R.I.A.;⁽¹⁰⁾ Rev. G. B. Gibson, M.R.I.A.;⁽¹¹⁾ Cecil C. Woods, etc., etc. Among the Honorary Members were Colonel Lane-Fox, afterwards General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., F.S.A.; Robert Patterson, F.R.S. (Belfast); Jno. Dillon Croker, F.S.A., etc., etc.⁽¹²⁾ These are only a few of the names which are representative of men of whom any city would be proud, who were versed in the history and folk-lore of the country, were

(3) John Lindsay, barrister-at-law, F.S.A. Scot., was author of the standard work on the Coinage of Scotland, 1845. And also on the Coinage of Ireland from the invasion of the Danes to the Reign of George IV., 1839. In 1852 he published another exhaustive work on the history and Coinage of the Parthians, all having been published in Cork.

(4) Mr. Robert J. Lecky, a marine engineer, designed the first iron steamship in Cork, which was launched from his ship-building yards.

(5) John Windele was a zealous antiquary and graceful writer. In 1844 he published an enlarged edition of a Guide to the South of Ireland, which is invaluable as a book of reference.

(6) Mr. Richard Dowden (Richard) was a fellow-worker in the Rev. Theobald Mathew's great temperance movement. He wrote a handbook on "The Botany of the Bohereens," a shilling edition of which has been recently published by Grant of Edinburgh.

(7) George Boole, LL.D., F.R.S., Queen's College, Cork, was President in the year 1855-56, and for a period of fifteen years was intimately associated with the Society. He was an able writer and expounder of the highest branches of human learning, and as a mathematician had a world-wide reputation.

(8) Charles Porter, LL.D., will still be remembered by the later pupils of Mr. Hamblin's school, with whom his name was linked.

(9) Mr. Joseph Wright is the learned author of many papers contributed to the transactions of the Geological Society of London, of which he has been many years a Fellow, and is also the discoverer of many varieties and species of fossils new to science that bear his name. He was President in 1866-7.

(10) R. R. Brash, M.R.I.A., was a studious antiquary. He made the Ogham characters his favourite study, and has published a standard work on the subject.

(11) The Revd. G. B. Gibson, M.R.I.A., compiled a History.

(12) Mr. John Dillon Croker, F.S.A., is the only son of Thomas Crofton Croker, F.S.A., etc., etc., who was one of the earliest members of the Cuvierian Society, and who added to the literature of the country such works as "Researches in the South of Ireland," and its "Fairy Legends," with many other contributions to its legendary history and folk-lore.

ardent students of its antiquities, and were skilled in numismatics, botany, geology, and the sciences.

All the meetings of the Society were open to visitors introduced by members, oftentimes natives of Cork who had distinguished themselves in the service of their country on sea and land. Now, with few exceptions, both members⁽¹³⁾ and visitors have passed out upon that pilgrimage from whence there is no return, and by their deaths their native city has become all the poorer. The records of the Cuvierian Society, which are unpublished, except in condensed newspaper reports, often inaccurate, are worthy of a better home, and no more fitting could be found than the pages of this "Journal," where they can be both indexed, preserved and consulted; and for this reason we purpose publishing selections from the papers that were contributed from original sources, by Doctor Caulfield and others. His contributions contain a body of history connected with the County and City of Cork which was acquired by him after deep research in the great public libraries and Record Offices of the Kingdom, where he loved to labour and spend his well-earned summer holiday.

On April 7, 1878, Mr. Robert J. Lecky, of Lorton Terrace, Notting Hill, a foundation member of the Society, communicated a "Sketch Memoir of Major Henry Eeles, of Lismore," who lived at Lismore, county Waterford, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. He was a man of much information and travelled a good deal, and his company was much sought for by the gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Lismore Castle, which for beauty of situation is not surpassed by any residence in the Kingdom, had been the seat of the Boyle family, the ancestors of the present Earl of Cork, and in 1735 came into the possession of the Duke of Devonshire through marriage. The celebrated philosopher the Hon. Robert Boyle, youngest son of the first Earl of Cork, had lived there, and doubtless Eeles was tinged with his philosophy, which was of the true practical Baconian stamp. Electricity had at that time been taken up by the principal scientific persons in Europe, Priestley and Franklin having propounded theories which attracted much attention, but which failed to account satisfactorily for many of the phenomena. Eeles also turned his attention to the subject, and ventured to differ from these great authorities, for he thought that as he could get as good effects from the absence of electricity (the negative state) as he

(13) Joseph Wright, J. W. Richey, John Dillon Croker, Colonel Lunham, Revd. W. Whitelegge, and the writer, are all that now survive of the old Cuvierians.

could get from its plenitude (the positive state) there must be something wrong, so he took up the "two-fluid" theory, as explained in his "Philosophical Essays," calling one resinous and the other vitreous, although he says that these names are merely conventional for want of better, as he can impart vitreous electricity to a body with resin, and resinous electricity with a glass rod. His experiments as given in the "Essays," expressed with much prolixity, are well worth studying, as he carried them on with so much care and truthfulness.

His accounts of the many wonderful cures he performed must be taken "cum grano," the results being in many cases more the effects of faith than of electricity; as must also have been the case with his neighbour, "Valentine Greatraks," Esq., of Affane Castle, whose sobriquet of the "Stroker" arose from a supposed "gift of healing" by stroking or rubbing the part affected.

Eeles also turned his attention to meteorology, and although his theories do not fully coincide with modern ideas, yet they shew a mind of much thought and reflection. The Major was an original genius, and very fond of mechanical studies; he made for himself a sailing chariot in the form of a boat, covered with canvas, rigged with fore and aft sails, and steered by the hind wheels. The Castle Park was then much more open than it is at present, and there he used to sail about to the great amusement of the Lismore folk. My great-grandfather was steering it once in a smart gale, when not minding what he was about he struck a cow that was lying down. The chariot, lifted by its fore-foot, bounded, it is said, six feet in the air, alighting all right on its wheels, and so dashed on; but in the words of our great engineer, "it was so much the worse for the Cool!"

When close-hauled, he could go two points nearer the wind than the same rig could do at sea (the wheels preventing lee-way). He also made a smaller one, which he could take asunder and carry under his arm; this he one day took to the long strand in Youghal and put it together, set the sails and helm all right, and on letting it go, it beat his fine spaniel which he hallooed after it. Another day he had the larger one on the same strand, with two or three gentlemen in it, when as they were sailing along most comfortably he suddenly put the helm hard down, and dashed the chariot into the sea, to the great alarm and amusement of his guests. She was however quite water tight, and sailed away with as much ease and safety as she did on terra firma. As to Major Eeles' religious views, we fear he was very much of the

"French," or as we should now say, "advanced" school. He disclaimed strongly against any inherent virtue in consecrated ground, and gave positive directions that when he died he should be buried on the top of Knockmeeldown⁽⁴⁾ mountain. And in order to shock the feelings of the old ladies, who delighted in having a bit of gossip with the old soldier, he used to say his body must be packed in a rum puncheon, with his dog, gun, and plenty of ammunition, that he might have one day's good shooting when he should arise from the grave; and that the puncheon was to be rolled up the mountain and buried with him, standing upright. He was, however, buried in a plain oak coffin, taken up the mountain by eight bearers, and buried near the summit. The Rev. Mr. Sandiford, of Lismore, father of the late Mr. Sandiford, rector of Valencia, read the burial service. It is said that the bearers were paid forty shillings each for their services, in accordance with the Major's will, and that there was an Irish "saturnalia" of three days' and nights' duration held on the mountain top. There is also a tradition that the Tipperary boys did not let the poor old Major rest in peace, but returned the next night and took away his gun, to be used in higher sport than shooting woodcocks. In the autumn of 1828 I was returning on the mail coach from Waterford to Cork, through Lismore. I travelled in company with a man who appeared to be a respectable tradesman, and he told me he had, when a boy, attended the funeral; he appeared to be forty years of age, so that Eeles must have died late in the century. I have never visited the grave, but several of my friends have been to see it. It is very doubtful, although it had been confidently asserted, that his dog and his gun had been buried with him.

Major Eeles sent three communications to the Royal Society, which are printed in the 47th, 48th, and 50th volumes of the "Philosophical Transactions." These, with nine other essays, are in the "Philosophical Essays," which book was published in the year 1771 both in London and Dublin, and when viewed in the light of modern science, and what is at present known of static electricity, are replete with sound truth carefully elucidated by experiment, but wanting in the modern theory of induction, which, of course, he was ignorant of. His ideas, however,

⁽⁴⁾Knock-mele-down (cnoc-maol-dun Irish, the bare brown hill), anciently Sliebh-Cua, is 2,069 feet above the level of the sea. Hayman, in his Guide (Youghal, 1860), says that upon its summit Mr. Henry Eeles, author of "Letters from Lismore" (Dublin, 1771), and of other scientific treatises, is buried with his dog and gun, having himself selected this resting-place.

did not accord with Priestley's and Franklin's theories, and so the Major was snubbed by the Royal Society, Priestley having the facts before him, not having the candour to mention Eeles' name in his "History of Electricity." Of this Eeles takes notice in the preface and addendum to the "Essays," and gives the Doctor a thorough good "set down" for his neglect. It is curious to observe the careful and polite manner in which the Major tries to refute the old cries and to propound his own, e.g., in the first letter, dated 20th September, 1731 (see "Phil. Trans."), he refutes the idea of thunder being caused by the admixture of sulphureous and nitrous vapours, in fact, aerial gunpowder, and then fired by friction! How absurd such ideas appear now. Still, in those days, they formed points of discussion among grave philosophers.

Robert Lecky, the writer of this most interesting biographical notice, was born in Queen Street, Cork, on March 25, 1809, and died on the 11th of November, 1897, in his 89th year. He was a remarkable man of a notable family, of which W. H. Lecky, M.P., the historian, was a member.

(To be continued.)

Early Printing in a Munster Town.

By E. R. McC. DIX.

ENNIS.



THIS "Journal" is not confined only to matters relating to the City and County of Cork, but has wider bounds, I think it may not be inappropriate to make some mention of the early printing in another town in the Province of Munster besides Cork.

The list of books, pamphlets, etc., printed in the latter City prior to 1801 has been concluded for the present. The present Secretary of the Cork, Historical and Archæological Society has in former numbers of the "Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archæological Society" published lists of books, etc., printed in Waterford, Cashel, Clonmel, and some other Munster towns. He

has also contributed a similar list to the "Journal of the Limerick Field Club" as regards the City of Limerick; but, except for such contributions, there has been no article, so far as I am aware, dealing with early printing in the other towns in the Province of Munster.

I propose in this article to refer to printing in the town of Ennis, county Clare. The extant printed matter issued from its presses is indeed very scant; but, if it serve no other purpose, some record of the kind may at least draw attention to the subject and awaken interest and lead to additional contributions. Indeed we might almost say that no notice whatever has so far been taken of our Provincial presses; and, except for Dr. Madden's two volumes of "Irish Periodical Literature," such brief mention as occurs in Archdeacon Cotton's "Typographical Gazetteer" (two series), John Power's short-lived "Irish Literary Enquirer," and "List of Periodicals," besides a very few magazine articles, one has to depend entirely upon individual and original research. Very few towns, in fact, in Ireland had local presses prior to 1750.

I had occasion to mention before, and elsewhere, that in some instances the first work issued from a local press has been a book or pamphlet, followed by further works of a similar nature; and that a journal or periodical publication did not appear until the presses had been established for some time. The converse is also true; and particularly so in the case of Ennis. The earliest output of an Ennis press was, as stated by Dr. Madden in the work before referred to, the "Clare Journal"; and he gives 1776 as the year of its first appearance. Archdeacon Cotton, however, gives 1778, that is, two years later, as the date when it commenced; and I think that it is now plain that Archdeacon Cotton was right in this instance, and not Dr. Madden—judging from the single copy of an issue of the Second Volume of the "Clare Journal," which is to be found (bound up with several other odd issues of papers) in the Newspaper Room of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. This issue is for "15th February, 1779"; and forms No. 13. It consists of 4 pages of 4 columns each; and the printers were John Busteed and George Trinder of Church Street. This "Clare Journal" appeared twice weekly.

In the following year the same partners printed and published "A Short Tour; or An Impartial and Accurate Description of the County of Clare with some Particular and Historical Observations." The author was John Lloyd. It is a duodecimo of 64 pp. and now a very

rare work. I only know of two copies, one in the British Museum; and one in the Joly Collection in the National Library, Dublin.

With the exception of this one solitary book all the other extant items of printing in Ennis consist of newspapers. Dr. Madden is our authority for the statement that the "Ennis Chronicle and Clare Advertiser" made its appearance in the year 1783. I am not quite sure that he has not ante-dated it by one year. It certainly came into existence in 1784, that is, assuming it to be the same paper as the "Ennis Chronicle"; because there is now in the National Library, vol. xi. of this "Chronicle." for the year 1794, containing 104 numbers, all complete with the exception of one issue, half of which is missing. This paper was also published twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays. The first number for 1794 is dated, "Thursday, 2nd January," and the last (No. 104) for "29th December," thus showing that a year's issues formed one volume. Each issue consisted of 4 pages of 4 columns each; and the printer of it was Foster Parsons.

What had become of Busteed and Trinder or when Parsons first came as a printer to Ennis I cannot tell; but his name first appears as a printer there in the year 1788, and his address is given as Gaol Street. This is taken from Mr. Richard Lucas's "General Directory of Ireland," vol. ii. But he was not the only printer in Ennis at that time; as the same Directory gives the name of Thomas Knox of the same street as a printer also. How long Parsons continued in Ennis does not appear; but he was certainly there in 1795, as he figures amongst a list of subscribers to a book published in Dublin in 1795, entitled "A System of Natural Philosophy," by James Hendrick.

Then comes a break until we reach the year 1807, when we find that the "Clare Journal" had reached its thirtieth volume; and was then printed by Francis Knox, presumably a son or other relative of the Thomas Knox of 1788. The volumes of the "Clare Journal" for 1807, 1808, and 1809, are now to be found in the National Library, Dublin; but are imperfect. It was during those three years published bi-weekly.

It is deplorable that so very little of our Provincial Newspapers has survived, and that little so scattered and imperfect. Serious efforts should therefore be made to secure in our Libraries every issue that remains.

Both these Newspapers just mentioned were still in existence in the year 1824, the "Clare Journal" being then published by T. Knox, and the "Ennis Chronicle" by J. Greene; and another printer is men-

tioned in that year in Pigott's Directory, namely, Henry Griffin of Bow Lane. Though this the capital town of Clare seems to have been able to support two Newspapers regularly for a number of years, it seems strange that from 1778 to 1824, or even later, there is but one solitary book as the only other outcome of the printing presses there.

It seems better at present to defer dealing with the printing after 1830 in full detail, but I will merely mention here that a new printer appeared soon after that date, namely, Marcus Talbot, who printed some small books or pamphlets of a religious or political nature, of which I hope to tell in a future article.

Rosscarbery.

NOTWITHSTANDING its claims to notice on antiquarian and historic grounds, Rosscarbery from its remote position—away from railway, steamer, or even public coach—is but rarely visited, and remains comparatively unknown to the rest of the county; so that the following extracts from a paper which appeared in the "Examiner" of June 19th, 1880, written apparently by the late Very Rev. Jeremiah Molony, P.P., a few weeks before the consecration of the Catholic parish church at Rosscarbery, will probably be found to contain much that is new to many readers of this "Journal," and to deserve the more permanent record which its pages afford:—"In ancient manuscripts Ross is called Rossalither, or Rossalithri, but this latter is the Latin genitive of the Latin word Rossalithrum. In the 'Life of St. Mochemoe' we read of the city near the seashore, to which a great number of scholars had always resorted, and it is called Rossalithri. In the original there is no 'argal,' or equivalent. Subsequent writers seemed to think it followed from the context that the place was therefore called Rossalithri, and one writer after another repeated the phrase, 'Ross of the pilgrim scholars.' The place, however, was called Rossalithri before Saint Faughnan or any other wayworn Christian pilgrim came to Ross to learn or to pray. There is the 'Fearsad' of Ross, like the Fearsad from which Belfast derives its name; and it means the pools or channels left by the receding tide. Seafaring men along the coast commonly speak of the Fearsad of Ross as applied to its strand. There is the Tuath of Ross, an outlying cantred to the north of the town; and between this Tuath of Ross and the Fearsad of Ross is Rossa lithir (in Latin Rossa lithrum), which means 'Ross built on the hill with wet, spewy sides.' This 'Lithir' of Ross extends from the Priest's Gate to Glasheen, and was known to the inhabitants in medieval times as the 'Lotharach.'

"The incoming of the Christian faith into this district of Corcolaidh dates from a period anterior to St. Patrick. It was chiefly through monasteries that Christianity was planted in Ireland: that of Ross dating from the middle of the sixth century, when it was founded by St. Faughnan of the race of King Maccon—not the Faughnan de Ria, the founder of the diocese of Kilfenora.

He was an old man when he went to consult St. Ita in A.D. 570, and it was about twenty years prior to that when there came to the pagan inhabitants of this place Faughnan, of the royal race of Maccon, from his abbey near Ballinatrav. 'Wise and virtuous' is he styled in the 'Book of Cashel'; and if the 'Book of Ross,' so frequently referred to in the manuscripts in the British Museum, should ever be discovered, it will doubtless give details of the hidden life of St. Faughnan, Bishop of Rossalithir.

"To the east of Ross is a little oratory of St. Faughnan, called 'Sheanadh Tiompaleen Faughnan,' and to the west of Ross is 'Cill Faughnan Beg.' Between these was the monastery of Ross and the old cathedral, 'Tiompail Mor Faughnadh.' These four churches may be identified with the several churches discriminated one from another in our ancient Irish manuscripts, such as the 'anoit,' the 'daltha,' the 'compairche,' and the 'cill' church.

"The early inhabitants realised the full meaning of the old tribeman's saying, 'Better live under the Crozier than under the Crown,' and there was much popular enthusiasm in favour of that Bishop of Ross who successfully asserted his rights against the Crown in a lawsuit touching 'Furca et wreckia maris' on the foreshore of the parish of Ross, the pleadings in which are still extant, and can be seen in the Muniment Room, Rolls Court, Dublin.

"About 250 years after its foundation the monastery of Ross was pillaged by the Danes of Dublin; and later on, in the eleventh century, it was a second time plundered by some hostile native tribes.

"In a stanza from the 'Book of Lecan' quoted by O'Flaherty, it is stated that twenty-seven prelates of the same family filled the See of Ross. The poem from which it is taken is in Irish with a Latin translation, of which the following, compared with both the Latin and Irish, is an English version:—

"Seven and twenty bishops, high revered,
Possessed Ross of rich luxuriant glebe,
From high-famed Faughnan's time,
Till Dugald's day of equitable rule."

When the first missionaries came to Ireland they sought to introduce, together with the Gospel, the municipal laws of the ancient Roman Empire. But they found Ireland in full possession of her own laws and institutes; and upon these laws Christianity was grafted, while the traditional tribe law was adopted into our Christian organisation. Every individual tribeman had his right in the land he himself farmed, and his right also as a tribeman to a share in the whole territory. The chief representing the tribe gave to Saint Faughnan a portion of the tribeland for the foundation of his monastery; but the lay tribemen retained individually and collectively their claims to that land, bating the object for which it was originally given, whereby it was guaranteed that, 'as long as there shall be a person fit to be an abbot of the said tribe of the patron saint, even though he be but a psalmsinger, it is he that shall obtain the abbacy.' As these tribelands, like the 'O'Driscoll's country,' were extensive, it does not follow that the successors to the abbacy, though of the same tribe, were allied to the deceased abbots in any near degree of kindred. The succession of the bishopric is thus explained without the supposition that the rights of the Church were invaded by the lay members of the tribeland. As the monasteries became in course of time commercial centres, we accordingly find upon an ancient map of Ireland, 'Ye cittie and countie of Rosse.'

"After the Synod of Kells we find a great change in Irish ecclesiastical organisation, delimitation of dioceses, distinction of parishes, and dedication of



**CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. FAUGHNAN, ROSS,
AND THE COLLEGE.**



CATHOLIC PARISH CHURCH OF ROSS.

parochial churches. These changes followed the suppression of Chori-episcopal Sees, the last of which was the bishopric of Enniskeane.

"The parochial or Cathedral Church of Rosscarbery is called in ancient manuscripts, 'Tiompal mor Feachtna,' and we have a full description of the condition and general appearance of this building just before it passed into Protestant hands. This account is due to an ancient usage of the Church of Rome, which, from time to time, ordered a Consistorial investigation into the existence and general condition of certain episcopal sees, minutes of which investigations are preserved in the Vatican archives. In the year 1517 Edmund de Courcey, Bishop of Ross, resigned his See owing to his great age, being then about 80. The deed of resignation was drawn up in Timoleague Abbey by a Dublin notary, was witnessed by the Lady Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Kildare, and was commended to the Holy See by King Henry VIII. in a letter dated Richmond, July 17th, 1517; and in consideration of this resignation of the Bishop, backed by the King's letter, Pope Leo ordered an enquiry into the condition of the See of Ross.

"The reply to this Papal mandate, which is still extant in Theiner's 'Monumenta Celtica,' a large Latin folio, printed in Rome under the patronage of the late Cardinal Cullen, furnishes an interesting account of Ross and its cathedral in the sixteenth century:—'The city of Ross is situated in the province of Cashel, in the middle of a large plain which stretches along the seashore. It consists of above 200 houses, and is encompassed by a wall. The country around is fertile, yielding an abundance of corn and fruit. In the centre of the town is the Cathedral church, dedicated under the invocation of Saint Faughnan, an Irish saint-confessor, whose feast is celebrated on the Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The walls of the church are of cut stone, and it has two entrances, one lateral and the other in front, and in both you descend three steps to the level of the church. Its floor is unpaved, and its roof of wood covered with slates. The interior of the church presents the form of a cross, and its size corresponds with the Church of St. Maria del Popolo, in Rome. Its central nave is supported by stone pillars from the aisles. Its choir is of wood; and its sacristy is supplied with vestments and other ornaments. It has a mitre and crucifixes; its chalices are of solid silver, some of them being gilt, and its crozier is also of silver. In the cemetery outside there is a belfry built in the form of a tower, in which there is one large bell.'

"In its present state we cannot trace the architectural features set forth in the above extract relative to the old cathedral of Ross. The long drawn aisles have disappeared, though it still retains its cruciform structure. The cut stone was freestone from this vicinity, and laid in regular courses of the best masonry. But what remains of the old walls is now (1880) dashed and plastered. Of the first church, erected as a monastic one, that built by St. Faughnan, the ruins still exist on the southern slope of the gentle eminence upon which the town of Ross is built. The site was anciently called 'Ílan Gauladh,' which in English means English Island. Though in extent but five acres, it was ever denominated a ploughland. This old sixth century church was cyclopean in its main features, but with windows in the lancet style of Gothic architecture. Near this church, at the Abbey gate, was the Round Tower of Ross, which if of the same height as others in the county Cork, would command a view of the southern seaboard from the Old Head of Kinsale to Cape Clear.

"At the present day there is not a vestige left of this Round Tower. Of its existence, however, in early times, there can be no doubt, for it is seen on the

seal of the Chapter of Ross, A.D. 1641, which is supposed to be a copy of the old seal of the Canons of Ross Cathedral.

"When Ross Cathedral became Protestantised, a small chapel was hastily built up within sight of it, at the southern corner of the 'fair field,' and there was no failure in the succession of Catholic pastors in the parish of Rosscarbery. Subsequently was erected the old chapel of Rossrock, now utilised as a parochial school; and about sixty years ago (i.e., previous to 1880) Father Jerry Molony, the elder, built a church which in its architectural proportions far exceeds the ancient cathedral. Extensively repaired and decorated by his nephew, the Very Rev. Jeremiah Molony, P.P., and possessing a campanile of finely chiselled masonry, built on the lines of the tower of Timoleague Abbey, this church, dedicated to St. Faughnan, was consecrated on Lady Day in August, 1880, and now forms the Cathedral of the Catholic Diocese of Ross, as well as the parochial church of Rosscarbery."

J. C.

Cork Topographical Notes.

BY COLONEL THOS. A. LUNHAM, C.B., M.A., M.R.I.A.

THE GREAT MARSH OF CORK.

DUNSCOMBE'S MARSH.—Dunscombe's Marsh, otherwise the South East, or Great Marsh of Cork was granted in 1686 to Alderman Noblett Dunscombe (Mayor, 1665); but after the siege of Cork, in 1690, it was surrendered by him, and a new grant made in 1691, reserving a rent of £10 per annum. He suffered great losses by these wars, as particularly mentioned in his will, dated April, 1695; and directs "that he shall be buried in the ruins of St. Mary's Shandon Church, having respect unto the station he filled in this city of Cork, and his great losses." He was buried June 5, 1695. He was born in 1628; and married, in 1652, Mary Hull, sister to Wm. Hull, Esq., of the city of Cork, and granddaughter (niece Burke says, "Landed Gentry," s. v.) to Sir Wm. Hull, of Leamcon, Co. Cork, knight, and was son of Colonel Noblett Dunscombe, who died in 1651, and grandson of Edward Dunscombe, Esq., of St. Finbarry's, who settled in Cork, from London, in 1596, and died in 1631. He was an eminent merchant.

Dunscombe's Marsh comprises that portion of the city of Cork bounded as follows, viz., Grand Parade on the west, new Custom House on the east, Lapp's Island, Quay, and South Mall on the south, Patrick Street along to Merchants' Quay, and Merchants' Quay Upper and Lower, to Custom House on the north. In 1699 Wm. Dunscombe, Esq., only son of Alderman Noblett Dunscombe, built a stone bridge on the western end, or Grand Parade, to connect it with the opposite side, or Tuckey's Quay, and commenced leasing in 1710, when the first house was built. Possibly this was the William Dunscombe who was a Fellow Commoner of Trinity College, Dublin, and presented the large silver cup (February 2, 1680) surmounted by the crest of his family, and bearing the inscription—"Ex dono Gulielmi Duncombe, Filii Gulielmi Duncombe, Armigeri." If this be so, a mistake appears to have been made in the Christian name of his father,—Vide Catalogue of College Plate, compiled by John Hingston, p. 15. (1)

(1) Dr. Mahaffy, in "The Book of Trinity College," p. 272, mentions "Mr. Duncombe, of Cork," as the donor of this very handsome piece of plate. With

That part of Dunscombe's Marsh now called Lapp's Island was sold by one of the Dunscombe family in the eighteenth century. "I have an old snuff box" (says Windele) "with this inscription: 'The gift of G. Crofts to Noblett Dunscombe, Nov., 1670.' A foot of the royal antelope has been handed down with the box. This animal is styled by Bosman the king of the harts. Mr. Kerr says it is only nine inches high; and yet is so exceedingly agile that it is said to leap over a twelve-foot wall. The legs are scarcely bigger than a goose quill, and it would not live in Europe. There is a gold tip on the end of the foot with the initials W. D."

The North Strand was leased in 1686 for 399 years to Alderman Noblett Dunscombe, at the rent of £2 10s. yearly. This lies along where the new chapel (St. Mary's Dominican Church) is built on Pope's Quay. A portion of the North East Marsh was granted in 1686 to Alderman N. Dunscombe, rent reserved £1 1s. 5½d. yearly. "I would say"—observes Windele—"that the whole of the North East Marsh (but not to a positive certainty) was bounded on the west by Market Street, or the Coal Quay, round by St. Patrick Street, the side in Paul's parish, and up by Lavitt's Quay and Coal Quay to Market Street or Coal Quay."

The Marsh called Pike's Marsh, and leased in 1708, was, previous to the siege, the property of Alderman N. Dunscombe; but after the siege in 1690, he surrendered it; and it lay unoccupied until 1704. This comprehends that portion of the city bounded by Grenville Place on the west, Henry Street (south side) on the south, Duncan Street (north end of it) on the east, and Bachelor's Quay, or Grenville Quay, on the north. The instrument whereby the city relinquished the prisage of wines to James Duke of Ormond, was presented in a silver box, with the city arms engraved thereon, by Noblett Dunscombe, Esq., in 1666, then Mayor. This duty was granted to the city by King Henry the Third.

regard, however, to his identity with the William Dunscombe of the text, opinions differ. According to the pedigree as set out in Burke (s. v.), William Dunscombe, born in 1660, was the only son of Noblett Dunscombe, and not as described above.

Mr. G. D. Burtchaell, of the Office of Arms, Dublin Castle, has been so good as to send me the following communication on the subject:—"From the copy of the Matriculation books of Trinity College, Dublin, in this office, it appears that William Dunscombe, born at Cork, son of William Dunscombe, entered as a Fellow Commoner, 2nd Feb., 1680-1. He is the only William Dunscombe whose name appears in the books between 1638 and 1732. The date of his birth would be 1662. The date of the birth of William, son of Noblett Dunscombe, is given in 'Burke' as 1660, so it would seem that the Fellow Commoner was a different person. Possibly, however, the name of the Fellow Commoner's father is incorrectly entered, and should have been Noblett, and not William. If that be so, the date of birth in Burke is incorrect. But as William Dunscombe appears to have been married in 1682, he would then be only 20. There is nothing in the office to throw any further light on the matter."

Dr. Williamson, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, writes as follows:—"I have looked into the Duncombe Cup question, and on reference to the Matriculation Book, I find that he (Dunscombe) entered on Feb. 2, 1680, as William Dunscombe, son of William Dunscombe, and also graduated under the name of Dunscombe. In the list of matriculations, during a long period, I find several Dunscombes, and not a single Duncombe."

The name of William Dunscombe does not occur in the List of Graduates "From the earliest recorded commencements to 1866," published in 1869.

"The North East Marsh was leased to others besides Noblett Dunscombe (Windele says). The part leased to him could not have been extensive. It was nearly all built on prior to his death in 1695; nor was all the North Strand leased to him, only a portion, as I think, but am not certain."

Currikippane East and West, 239 acres, 3 roods, and 32 perches, rent of £17 2s., forfeited by Donogh, Earl of Clancarthy, was purchased by William Dunscombe, Esq., 5th April, 1703: consideration, £986.—MSS., R. I. Academy.

AN ANCIENT PARISH CHURCH.

CHRIST CHURCH.—This church is said to have been founded by the Knights Templars. There was a Preceptory in Cork; for we find William Le Chaplain Master, circa 1292. In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, made in 1291, the church is valued at 15 marks; and a contemporary grant, dated from Christ Church, is said to have been made by Edward I. of the Castle of Ringrone, near Kinsale. The building suffered severely during the siege of Cork, September, 1690, from the fire of the besiegers (one shell fell through the roof); but quite as much from the defenders, who pulled up the pavement, and used the materials to repair the neighbouring breach in the city walls. "From these injuries," says Windele, "it never recovered, and in 1717 it was taken down."

The new church was erected by G. Coltsman, the architect of the North and South Gate bridges. A lofty tower at the western end was part of the design, and had actually been carried to a considerable height, but the foundation yielding on one side, the tower leaned so much out of the perpendicular that considerable portions had to be removed from time to time, the last by Mr. Pain in 1828.

"I have not ascertained at what period this church was constituted a prebend," writes Archdeacon Cotton. "The ancient Rolls described it as a 'free chapel,' in the gift of the King" (Fasti, vol. i., page 262). Dr. Brady says that "The old parchment Register of Christ Church is the oldest and best preserved of the Cork Parish Registers: and the oldest entries those of the donor (of the Register) and his wife's burials, viz., 'John Bayly, the elder, late Clerke of the City and Parish of Ch. Ch., Cork, deceased the 26th day of July, 1643'; and 'Eleanor Bayly, the wife of the said John Bayly, of Cork, lately deceased (who died the 28th day of January, 1643)'.—'Records,' vol. i., page 109.

This Register, from July, 1643, to February, 1668, was printed by Dr. Caulfield in 1877. "The Church of the Holy Trinity, or Christ Church," writes Dr. Caulfield, "occupies the site of one of the two ancient parish churches once within the city walls. It was also called the 'King's Chapel'; and is mentioned as the Church of the Holy Trinity in the Decretal Epistles of Pope Innocent III. in the year 1199, and is rated in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291 at 15 marks. It was situated about 120 feet within the east wall of the city; and beside it was the College of Christ Church, long since removed. The Churchyard and adjacent ground was till lately, within a few inches of the surface, a marsh, and before the year 1830 the vaults were filled with water at the rise of every tide. When the present schoolhouse was erected a few years ago, a large and deep pit was discovered, in which were some cartloads of human remains mixed with the bones of horses, most probably deposited there after the siege of Cork by the Duke of Marlborough. This may have been the place of sepulture referred to by Pike, as a 'large hole or pit,' where numbers of both English soldiers, as well as Irish prisoners, who had died after the capture of the town (Sep. 28, 1690), were buried, 'almost every day.'—Life, p. 53.

If we except some fragments of old walls in the crypt, no part of the ancient structure now remains. The present church was built in 1717, and arranged internally with the present front and entrance added by an applotment on the parish, made 6th October, 1827, for £3,500 6s., at a rate of 1s. 10d. in the pound gross valuation. This was formerly the burial place of the chief citizens of Cork. The ornamental tombstones of some of these families could until recently be seen against the north wall of the cemetery, and others are still in the crypt.

The Register is on thick parchment, much discoloured; it is 17½ inches long by 7 inches broad, containing 48 folios written by different hands, and embraces the period mentioned above. Its discovery was due to the antiquarian zeal of Dr. Caulfield.

The church consists of a nave 89 feet, 9 inches long by 17 feet, 7 inches broad, with two lateral aisles 12 feet, 6 inches wide. The nave is separated from these aisles by walls three feet thick, in which there are large arched openings, 8 feet, 2 inches across. In the nave is built another wall, 2 feet thick, at a distance of 5 feet, 7 inches from the wall between the nave and the north aisle, also pierced with openings varying in width from 7 feet, 8 inches to 5 feet, 2 inches, which forms a sort of intermediate passage, in which is a large ancient altar tomb with a floriated cross. A portion of this wall is built on a large block of solid masonry, evidently a remnant of the ancient church.

The oldest bequests to this church are those of John Wynchedon, citizen, whose will is dated on the octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul, 1306. To the church he leaves one mark, to each priest 12d., to the clerk 2s., to the fabric half a mark: that every year a representation of the crucifixion in wax gilt, and five pounds in weight, should be provided for the church, and two candlesticks for the great altar; to the Rector and Vicar 20s., and the portiforium (i. e., breviary) to the Vicar, which he had pledged for 10s.

Notes and Queries.

LOCAL HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, FOLK-LORE, ETC.

Contributed by R.D. : THE OWLS OF PEMBROKE STREET; DEAN SWIFT TO THE CORPORATION OF CORK.

Dorothea Townshend : COLONEL RICHARD TOWNSEND.

P. W. Joyce, LL.D. : CANON COURTENAY MOORE'S PAPER ON "SPENSER'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MITCHELSTOWN."

Courtenay Moore, Canon, M.A. : A WATERLOO LETTER; FATHER O'COIGLEY, OR QUIGLEY; SOME DISTINGUISHED CORKMEN.

J. Buckley : REV. GILBERT LAIRD.

J. C. : THE FATHER PROUT BUST IN THE CRAWFORD SCHOOL OF ART.

The Owls of Pembroke Street⁽¹⁾—"Over the door of the new Library just completed, the learned and curious may perceive two half-starved wooden figures, which, after some profound investigation, the eye of fancy will discover to have been meant for owls. But if conjecturing what they are intended physically to represent has puzzled the unlearned, nobody learned or unlearned has been able satisfactorily to divine of what they are types, what the hieroglyphical interpretation is of these wooden tenants of the grove.

"A large party of the vulgar imagine that they are intended as representations of the President and Vice-President, or some other official persons in this Library. This, however, is impossible for many reasons. Others, the malcontents at the Library, of whom, however, I am not one, say that they are intended as types of the whole society, who deserve such a representation for their folly in quitting their present rooms; but this, says friend Johnny, cannot be correct, for whatever other foolishness may be laid to their charge, owls are not guilty of migration: cuckoos, he remarks, would be a much better monument. Others again observe that they must be intended to represent the wiggly, stupid old snoring dotards who frequent the Library to the great annoyance of the more agreeable cocks. Others again—but there is no need of repeating all the various suppositions. Dean Burrowes, who lodges just opposite, has however made a remark too curious to pass by. What do you call those things? says he to Joyce, at the Commercial Tavern, over that new Library door? I don't know, please your Deanship, says Joyce, but they calls 'em oles, tho' they be as loike oles as I'm lke a rushlight. Oles, says the Dean, oles, oles, what do you mean by oles? Why, Lord bless your heart, retorted Joyce, I means O, W, L, S—oles. Owls, says the Dean. Ay, ay, Joyce, they should then, like the painter of old, put owls under them; those would then not only serve to designate the bird meant, but supply a fit inscription for the society who ordered their erection. My own opinion is that Mr. Deane put those birds over the Library as being the birds sacred to Minerva, the Goddess of Learning; and, like a droll fellow, wishing to insinuate that learning had little to do inside, he put those birds on the outside, in which he shewed his usual taste and judgment. In this idea my friend, Wm. Bullen, jr., agrees, as appears by the following epigram of his:

"Owls are Minerva's birds exclaimed Tom Deane,
And she is rarely in this building seen;
I'll therefore make the birds of wisdom wait
Like outcast strangers, perched outside the gate."

Dean Swift to the Corporation of Cork.—On January 20, 1736, "the Rev. Dean Jonathan Swift" was voted the Freedom of the Ancient City of Cork (in a silver box. On August 15, 1737, he returned the box, with the narrow strip of parchment on which the freedom was recorded, with the following letter:—

"To the Right Worshipful the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of the City of Corke.

Deanery House, Dublin, August 15, 1737.

Gentlemen—I received from you, some weeks ago, the honour of my freedom, in a silver box, by the hands of Mr. Stannard,⁽¹⁾ but it was not delivered to me in as many weeks more: because I supposed he was too full of more important business. Since that time I have been wholly confined by sickness, so that I was not able to return you my acknowledgment; and it is with much difficulty I do it now, my head continuing in great disorder. Mr. Faulkner will be the bearer of my letter, who sets out this morning for Corke.

"I could have wished, as I am a private man, that in the instrument of my freedom you had pleased to assign your reasons for making choice of me. I know it is a usual compliment to bestow the freedom of a City on an Arch-Bishop,

(1) "Something New," Bolster, Cork, April 13, 1820.

(2) Corporation Book of Cork.

(3) Eaton Stannard, Esq., then Recorder of Dublin, afterwards prime Serjeant-at-law.

or Lord Chancellor, and other persons of great titles, merely upon account of their stations or power; but a private man, and a perfect stranger, without power or grandeur, may justly expect to find the motives assigned in the instrument of his freedom on what account he is thus distinguished. And yet I cannot discover in the whole parchment scrip any reason offered. Next, as to the silver box, there is not so much as my name upon it, or any one syllable to shew it was a present from your city. Therefore I have, by the advice of friends, agreeing with my own opinion, sent back the box and instrument of freedom by Mr. Faulkner, to be returned to you, leaving to your choice whether to insert the reasons for which you were pleased to give me my freedom, or bestow the box upon some more worthy person whom you may have an intention to honour because it will equally fit everybody.—I am, with true esteem and gratitude, gentlemen, your most obedient and obliged servant,

JON. SWIFT."

In consequence of this letter, there was an inscription and the city arms of Cork engraved on the box and reasons in the parchment scrip for presenting him with the freedom. This letter was published in "The Gleaner, or Benevolent Monitor," Cork, which was printed and sold by John Bolster, No. 7 Patrick Street, 1812.

R. D.

Colonel Richard Townesend.—Since Dr. Caulfield made the contributions to the "Gentleman's Magazine" reprinted in the January number of this "Journal," further research has proved that his statements about Colonel Townesend were not correct.

The name was seldom met with in Ireland till Colonel Richard Townesend built Castle Townshend; and the "brothers" whom Caulfield, following Burke, gives him, are shown by his will to have been his sons.

The second of the "4 spies" is explained by Carte to have been Robert, not Richard, Townesend. Robert was a favourite Christian name among the descendants of Sir Robert Townshend, Chief Justice of Chester, so very possibly this Robert came from that branch of the Norfolk family. Richard Townesend bore the arms of the Townshends of Raynham, Norfolk, and the tradition of his descent from them has been kept up to the present day. It is supported by the extraordinary likeness between some of the portraits of Raynham Townshends and living members of the Irish family.

Richard Townesend is first met with in England at the defence of Lyme Regis in 1643. He volunteered for Ireland in 1646 when all Cromwell's adherents refused to leave England, and although he threw himself on Cromwell's side when Inchiquin, the general of the English in Munster, decided to join forces with the Irish against whom he had previously been fighting. Townesend left the army as soon as he honourably could, and appears to have had no further communication with Cromwell. Dr. Caulfield is also mistaken in thinking Sir Vincent Gookin to be of Irish descent. He was of a Kentish family.

DOROTHEA TOWNSHEND.

Canon Courtenay Moore's Paper on "Spenser's Knowledge of the Neighbourhood of Mitchelstown"(p. 31, supra).—This is a highly interesting contribution, like all Canon Courtenay Moore's papers referring to that locality; and he is quite right in stating that Spenser was well acquainted with the neighbourhood.

Many years ago I wrote a paper on "Spenser's Irish Rivers," which was

printed in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, and afterwards published in a more extended form in an English magazine, and which I intend to republish before long. In order to make sure that no Irish river that Spenser mentions should escape me, I read every line of his poetical works. He treats of Irish rivers in the following poems:—"The Faerie Queene" ("The Marriage of the Thames and Medway," in the eleventh canto of the fourth book); "Two Cantos of Mutabilitie"; and "Colin Clout's Come Home Again." In this paper I brought under review the whole of the rivers mentioned by him, and identified all, with one exception. Although in my youth I had a good knowledge of the stretch of country from Buttevant to the Galtys, and of the Galtys themselves, I went specially down from Dublin on that occasion, when preparing my paper, and examined the several rivers he brings in, walking for miles along the Bregoge, the Aubeg or Mulla, the Funsheon (including the Brackbaun and Attychraan), the Beheena, and others.

Having in this manner examined the whole question with the utmost care, I prove to demonstration in my paper the following points:—

First: That Spenser's "Strong Allo tomling from Slewlogher steep" is not the little river now called the Allo, flowing into the Blackwater near Kanturk, but the great Munster Blackwater itself.

Second: That "Swift Awniduff which of the English man is cal'de Blackewater" (not "Sweet Awniduff," as in Canon Moore's paper, by an evident printer's error), is the Ulster Blackwater, flowing into Lough Neagh. But in this I was not original, for Gibson, in his "History of Cork," has the same identification, and, I think, for the first time; though, so far as I remember, he gives no reasons. But indeed very little reasons are needed in the case, for anyone will see that the Ulster Blackwater is meant, when he reads the passage, and follows the order of the rivers according to Spenser's list.

Third: That Spenser's Molanna is the little stream Beheena—called Behanna sixty years ago, and so printed in the Ordnance maps—flowing from the Galtys into the Funsheon at Kilbeheny. I may remark that this identification had not been made before.

Spenser describes all these rivers, from the Bregoge to the Funsheon, with such extraordinary accuracy—his descriptions correspond so exactly with the streams and their beds—rapid, sluggish, single, branchy, sandy, rocky, narrow, wide—that he must have walked along them, as I did three centuries later; all which is brought out in detail in my paper.

The single exception referred to above is Spenser's "Stony Aubrian," which I could not then, and cannot now, identify. Will anyone look up this interesting little question, and find out for us what river Spenser means by "The Stony Aubrian," and give convincing reasons for his conclusion?

P. W. JOYCE, LL.D.

A Waterloo Letter.—The following letter, hitherto unpublished, was written by Brabazon Disney, then a Lieutenant in the 23rd Light Dragoons. A copy of it came into the possession of the late Rev. Brabazon Disney (formerly Rector of Monkstown parish and Canon of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral, Cork), through Col. Thomas Disney, R.A., who had received it from Mr. Disney-Roebeck. This Col. Disney is still alive, and is grandson of the Rev. Robert Disney, formerly Rector of Brigown, Mitchelstown, to whose memory there is a mural tablet in the parish church; also nephew, on his father's side, of the writer of the following letter.

Lieut. Disney died in Dublin in the year 1833, and at the time of his death was Brevet Lieut.-Col of the 7th Fusiliers.

COPY OF LETTER.

"De Corteau,

June 19th, 1815.

"My Dear Father—I write you a few lines the day after the battle. We arrived here the day before yesterday, but as I was so busily employed foraging that I had not a moment to spare, it would be impossible for me to enter into details of the engagement, except as relates to myself and Brigade. I shall commence from 16th—two days before the action. Early in the morning of the 16th we received orders to march from our cantonments, little thinking that we had so soon to be brought into such severe work. We had a long march of about thirty miles, the last seven or eight of which we came up in a smart trot, as the army had been engaged that day, and was in a great want of cavalry. We arrived in time to have a shell or two burst among us, but much too late to be of any service; we remained on horseback all night. The next morning Lord Wellington determined on retreating, when we came into severe play; they followed us about six or seven miles, where Lord W. had taken up a position, cannonading us the whole day. They, however, judged it expedient to bring to, and we retired behind the infantry, who were cheering us. We did not get there till about nine o'clock, and I was immediately ordered to take the command of an outlying picquet, the most advanced in the whole army.

"It had been raining on us the whole of the 17th, so that I was as completely drenched as if I had been dragged through a horse-pond: it continued all night, during which we sat on our horses. My videttes were within a hundred yards of the French, and we could hear them talking very plainly, but they did not attempt to molest us. In the night I heard a great moving of what seemed to me to be artillery, which I immediately reported to M. Gen. Sir William Dornberg, who commanded our Brigade, as it indicated a movement on our left flank. I was not mistaken in my conjecture, and I likewise reported the circumstance to Lord Uxbridge, when he visited the picquet next morning. I was relieved about five in the morning, having been forty-eight hours in my clothes, as wet as possible, without a chance of changing them, as our baggage had been ordered to the rear. I got a little bit of hard biscuit to eat and a glass of brandy, which prevented me from feeling anything from my wetting, this though my clothes dried on me.

"The 18th, about half-past eleven o'clock, the enemy advanced and attacked our line: there then began the heaviest cannonade that ever was heard. Our army behaved admirably, but our loss has indeed been heavy. We charged five or six times. In the first charge I had a sword without a guard, and was cut over both hands, though not badly. Lord Uxbridge charged once at the head of our regiment: in the second charge my bay horse, which I rode throughout the action, was cut over the head with a sabre. I likewise received a cut on the arm, and a grape-shot passed through my overalls and wounded me in the groin very slightly, and I had a musket ball through my cap, so that I had some hair-breadth escapes. It was the only thing wanting to complete Lord Wellington's glory, to beat Buonaparte in person, which he has now done. While I write this letter, at five in the morning, in expectation to march every moment, I cannot pretend to say how the French are disposed; however, in La Vendee the Royalists have gained considerable advantages. You shall hear as

often as possible from me, but we generally march at five, and don't arrive in our camp till seven or eight in the evening.

"His Grace says it was the severest action ever fought. We took 210 pieces of cannon, and there were upwards of 40,000 men hors de combat, of course including prisoners. The cavalry have suffered a great deal; we have had a great many killed, but Lord W. will not return any killed without some one will say he saw him dead. All the men and officers of our regiment returned missing are dead. I have a great deal more to say, but my head is so confused that most I intended to say has escaped my memory. Love to all. Ever your
B. DISNEY."

It is owing to the kindness of Mrs. Disney, of The Square, Mitchelstown, that I am able to furnish this interesting letter for publication in the "Journal."

Father O'Coigley, or Quigley.—There is a brief reference to this priest in Mr. Coleman's sketch of General Arthur O'Connor in the last number of the "Journal." He says: "O'Coigley and O'Connor were tried at Maidstone; O'Coigley was found guilty and executed, O'Connor was acquitted." A few more particulars concerning the case of Father O'Coigley or Quigley may be acceptable. There is a good deal about him in Fitzpatrick's "Secret Service Under Pitt," from which I collect the following items: Father O'Coigley visited Paris in 1797, returned to Dublin, and was there with Lord Edward FitzGerald at Leinster House. On his return journey to Paris Arthur O'Connor accompanied him. They met for the first time at the house of Mr. Lawless, afterwards Lord Cloncurry, in London, at dinner.

O'Coigley travelled under the name of Captain Jones, with Allen (a draper's assistant in Dublin, afterwards a colonel in the French service) passing as his servant. They left London for Margate, and O'Connor, under the assumed name of Colonel Morris, and attended by Binns, reached Margate by another route. They all met at Margate, and on the following day all the party were captured at the King's Head inn there by two Bow Street officers. They were removed to London, examined before the Privy Council, and then committed to Maidstone Jail to await their trial.

How to hang O'Coigley was the difficulty. The Government knew, from someone who had worked with him and given him away, that he was deep in the plot, but nothing could induce this informer to appear in court as a witness against him. On April 11th, 1798, Wickham wrote from Whitehall:—"It is most exceedingly to be lamented that no person can be sent over from Ireland to prove O'Coigley's handwriting."

The prisoners were not tried till late in May, 1798. A number of eminent noblemen testified as to O'Connor's character, and all the prisoners were acquitted except the priest, who was specially defended by a counsel employed by Lord Cloncurry. He was hanged on Penden Heath, June 7th, 1798. Judge Buller had leant heavily on him in his charge.

"O'Coigley," says Lord Holland, "was condemned on false and contradictory evidence. I do not mean to aver, as Lord Chancellor Thurlow assured me he did to Judge Buller who tried him, that if ever a poor man was murdered it was O'Coigley, but simply to allude to a circumstance which, in the case of a common felon, would probably have saved his life. The Bow Street officer who swore to finding the fatal paper in his pocket-book, and remarked in court the folding of the paper as fitting that pocket-book, had sworn before the Privy Council that the same paper was found loose in O'Coigley's great-coat, and, I think, had

added that he himself had put it into the pocket-book. An attorney of the name of Foulkes gave me this information, and I went with it to Mr. Wickham, who assured me that the circumstance should be carefully and anxiously investigated before the execution. But the order had gone down, and while we were conversing the sentence was probably executed."—"Memoirs of the Whig Party," by Lord Holland.

It seems to argue neglect or stupidity on the part of Father O'Coigley's counsel that this point was not pressed during the trial. Lord Holland adds that when the judge was descanting on the mildness and clemency of the Government, O'Coigley took a pinch of snuff and said "ahem."

O'Connor was leaving the court in triumph, but was at once re-arrested and replaced in his old quarters in Dublin Castle.

The Binns above referred to was a staunch Presbyterian. He went to America, and in 1843 wrote to Dr. Madden that O'Coigley was offered his life if he would implicate him in the conspiracy, which he indignantly refused to do. Fitzpatrick says that, in addition to consoling himself with snuff, "even in his irons O'Coigley talked irony. His audible "ahem" in court was an instance of this.

Some Distinguished Corkmen.—SIR RICHARD COX was born at Bandon, March 25th, 1650. His grandfather, Michael Cox, settled in Ireland in the reign of James I. In the war of 1641 Michael lost most of the large fortune he had amassed in Ireland. Sir Richard's father was killed two years after Richard's birth, and his mother died of grief in consequence. Richard was apprenticed to an attorney, and was qualified to practise the profession at the early age of eighteen. Succeeding beyond his expectations, he determined to study for the Bar. Accordingly, disposing of some property, he went over to London to keep his terms. In 1671 he was a student of Gray's Inn; two years afterwards he was called to the Bar, and refusing some inducements to settle in London, he returned to Bandon. In February, 1674, he married a Miss Mary Bourne; they were a very youthful couple, she being only fifteen, and he not twenty-four complete. Upon his marriage he says, "I retired to the country, and lived at Cloghnakilty for seven years, very plentifully and pleasantly."

Later on he was appointed Recorder of Kinsale, with a salary of £500 per annum. On the accession of James II. he resigned this office and removed to Bristol, where business poured in upon him, but he was a busy man and found time to compile his "*Hibernia Anglicana*." It was not a work calculated to make him popular in Ireland. Foreseeing the downfall of James, he proceeded to London, where he published a pamphlet in favour of the claims of William of Orange. This recommended him for promotion, and he proceeded to Ireland in William's train as secretary to Sir R. Southwell. The King's declaration promulgated at Finglas after the victory of the Boyne is attributed to his pen; he was presently rewarded by being made Recorder of Waterford, and in a short time afterwards Second Justice of the Common Pleas. He "bore his blushing honours thick upon him," for to the judgeship was added the governorship of Munster, which office he held until 1692, when he was knighted by Lord Sidney. To his credit it is recorded that he strenuously opposed the violation of the Treaty of Limerick. In 1701 he became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and a member of the Privy Council; but the end was not yet. In 1703 he was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and in 1706 was created a baronet.

The close of his life was spent at Palmerston, county Dublin, and to the last he was devoted to literature and the improvement of his estate. In addition to

his "*Hibernia Anglicana*," he wrote an "Essay for the Conversion of the Irish": it is evident he had the courage of his opinions, and his literary efforts seem to have been conceived and executed in the spirit of a leader of a forlorn hope. He died in May, 1733, aged 83, leaving a son and heir and one daughter. He is described as "a very handsome man, with an engaging aspect: exemplary in the various relations of life, and a delightful companion."

THOMAS CROFTON CROKER, the only son of Major Thomas Croker, was born in Buckingham Square, Cork, on January 15th, 1798. The Croker family originally hailed from Devonshire. In 1796 Major Croker, who had seen much arduous and active service with the 38th Regiment, married Maria, the eldest daughter and co-heir of Croker Dillon, of Baltidaniel, county Cork. Very early in life Thomas Crofton Croker began to develop a decided taste for curiosities and antiquities, but with this bent his family showed little sympathy, placing him as apprentice in the counting-house of Messrs. Lecky and Mark, then an eminent mercantile firm in Cork. Young Croker, however, followed up his own peculiar line of investigation in his leisure hours, making excursions in the South of Ireland studying the character and traditions of the people; in these rambles he was frequently accompanied by an intelligent Quaker, Mr. Joseph Humphreys, afterwards master of the Deaf and Dumb Institution at Claremont, near Dublin. Croker was at home with the pencil as well as with the pen, and exhibited drawings in Cork in 1817. In the following year his father died, and he left Ireland not to return to it as a place of residence. His first visit in England was paid to Moore, the poet, in Wiltshire, and soon after he settled down in London, having received through the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker an appointment in the Admiralty, which he held for upwards of thirty years, retiring in 1850. His first published work was of an historical character, dealing with the Rebellion of 1798, and with Irish Scenery, Architectural Remains, and the Manners and Superstitions of the Irish Peasantry. This work, though favourable received, was not very successful: it was followed, in 1835, by another, viz., "*Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*."

Murray, the publisher, at once foresaw the promise of this volume; he wrote to the author about it, as follows:—

"Albemarle Street, March 18th, 1825.

My dear Sir—I feel so very confident that your '*Fairy Tales*' deserve to be sold, that I am inclined to believe they will sell. I do not like, therefore, to keep you a moment longer in suspense, and I have therefore much satisfaction in enclosing a draft for your share of the profit of the first edition. With many thanks for the portion of it which falls to, my dear sir, your truly obliged and faithful friend,

JOHN MURRAY."

Croker, at Murray's request, visited Ireland to collect more material for a second and enlarged edition of his "*Legends*." His tour lasted six weeks. He describes it himself as follows:—"After so many adventures with Whiteboys in caves and out of caves and upon hill tops; with bootmakers and broguemakers, with smugglers and coastguards, with magistrates and murderers, with pilgrims and pedlars, I returned to England bringing with me a budget of grey superstitions." The success of the "*Legends*" was extraordinary. A German edition of them appeared in 1825; a French one in 1828. They were immensely appreciated and admired by Sir Walter Scott, Maria Edgeworth, Disraeli the elder, Lockhart, and Moore. This volume was his opus magnum—others followed in 1829, 1837, and 1839, but none of them equalled it. Croker was also a constant contributor to the periodical literature of the day. He died in London in 1854,

aged 57. He was an instance of the successful cultivation of literature by a Government-office-man, as were also Charles Lamb and John Stuart Mill. Sir Walter Scott described Croker as "little as a dwarf, keen-eyed as a hawk, and of easy, prepossessing manner, something like Tom Moore."

COURTENAY MOORE, CANON, M.A., Council Member.

Rev. Gilbert Laird.—Of this eccentric clergyman, who was "dumped" on the people of Kinneigh about one hundred years ago, the late Mr. O'Neill Daunt, in *"Ireland and her Agitators"* (new edition: London, 1867), has left the following humorous particulars. It is scarcely necessary to add that Mr. Laird was not adduced as typical of any particular kind of clergyman, but as an altogether unique character, and one of nature's wayward productions.

"Kinneigh, the parish in which Castletown is situated, is a wild upland tract, rising into abrupt and rocky eminences abounding in furze and coarse herbage. The hills are savage without grandeur; there is nothing picturesque in their outlines, and none of them ascend to any considerable elevation. There has, of late years, been erected a handsome Protestant church, which replaces the former barn-like edifice; and in its immediate vicinity stands one of the inexplicable round towers, seventy feet high. This tower is the only thing in the parish worth looking at. A stern old monument it is, of days so long gone by that man's memory retains no trace of their annals.

"Having mentioned the church, I may as well waste a few words in commemoration of an ancient parson, now deceased, by whom the church-goers of Kinneigh were for a long time illuminated. This gentleman, the Rev. Gilbert Laird, dropped into the parish, no one could tell whence, about the beginning of this century, or perhaps a few years previously. All that the Protestant parishioners knew about the matter was, that a queer-looking little brown bunch of a man, whose appearance bore some resemblance to that minute variety of the porcine species, a hedgehog, suddenly appeared in the pulpit one day, and delivered a discourse containing nothing about which anybody who heard it could predicate any quality in particular. The slight curiosity which was excited by the first appearance of the new parson died away, when it was found that all inquiry as to his origin, birthplace, former associates, or habits, were perfectly fruitless. On all these matters he preserved to the end of his days an impenetrable silence. He bore with him due credentials from the absentee rector, so that his title to the curacy was undoubted and unquestionable; and that, he conceived, was all that his flock were entitled to know. He continued to officiate and to preach. I believe the only effusion of his pulpit eloquence which yet survives in the parochial memory, is a discourse from the nursery fable of the Idle Grasshopper and the Industrious Ant, with appropriate amplifications from the preacher himself. Feargus O'Connor, who was one of the Rev. Gilbert Laird's congregation, excelled in his mimicry of this sermon, and often delivered it with great comic power for the amusement of his friends. No two human faces could be much more dissimilar in form or feature than those of the clergyman and his imitator; but this dissimilarity seemed to vanish, so exquisite was Feargus's presentment of the voice, the manner, and the expression of countenance proper to the reverend original.

"Mr. Laird became a sort of favourite with one or two squires who played backgammon and lived loose, rollicking lives. He rattled the dice with more sociability than he had displayed in any other occupation; and, although personally free from vice, he was not the man to annoy his patrons with many troublesome moral remonstrances. By-and-by the queer little man acquired a sort of small

popularity, probably because his absurdities furnished matter for mirth. Whimsical stories were told of him; people were amused with his odd habits, such as getting his bed thrashed with short flails every morning by the housemaids, and his sleeping with a bolster at the bed-foot in order to accommodate himself in the event of his choosing to reverse the relative positions of his head and feet during the night. His penurious style of living also supplied matter for irreverent jests. He existed on the smallest possible modicum of his salary as curate; and the residue he regularly invested in the purchase of a life annuity. The whole income arising from these investments he invested again; so that if the insurance offices had given him ten thousand per cent., they would have still been gainers by their singular annuitant. Thus he went on, investing and re-investing; and he flattered himself with the hope of enjoying the income thus created by the time it should reach £500 per annum.

"He continued unmarried until about the age of eighty-seven. He then united himself with a lady who was some fifty years his junior. The union was not happy, for he bitterly reproached the bride with her deception in concealing the malformation of her left foot, which deformity he had not discovered until after the matrimonial knot was irrevocably fastened. He did not long survive the discovery; and he now reposes in one of the graveyards of the city of Cork.

"The old gentleman, although far from being a model clergyman, yet possessed the negative merit of doing no mischief. Such was the pastor to whose care the souls of the Protestants of Kinneigh were for many years committed."

J. BUCKLEY.

The Father Prout Bust in the Crawford School of Art.—Prolific as Cork has been in distinguished, eminent, and world-famous sons, no city could be poorer in memorials of her departed great ones, whether in the form of statue, bust, painted window, or otherwise. Even the Prout bust now located in the Crawford School of Art can hardly be set down to the credit of its gifted original's native city, for it is due mainly to the initiative and efforts of Mr. T. Dillon Croker, of London, son of the famous Thomas Crofton Croker, ably and most laudably seconded however by Mr. Robert Day. As the story of this Prout bust is one otherwise likely to be entirely lost sight of in the course of a few years, it would be perhaps well to endeavour to give it some chance of remembrance by recording it in this "Journal." In September, 1899, Mr. Day sent out a circular to some of his fellow-citizens, in which it was stated that, "some years ago, after the death of the Rev. Francis Mahony (Father Prout), his friend and associate, Mr. Thomas Dillon Croker, F.S.A., collected among his literary companions in London about £25 for the purpose of placing a memorial to him in his native city. This sum has since remained in the Bank of Ireland, and at Mr. Dillon's request it has now been transferred to my name, with the request that I would place the matter before a few of my fellow-citizens, who, appreciating the rare literary attainments of "Father Prout," would help to perpetuate his memory, and would complete here what was so generously commenced in London. It is Mr. Dillon Croker's wish that a life-sized bust should be executed by Mr. Richard Barter, of the Studio, St. Ann's Hill, who is eminently fitted for the task. He has had the privilege of knowing "Father Prout," and will have access to his bust by Hogan, which is in the possession of the family. A sum of £90 will be required for the bust, Mr. Barter contributing the marble pedestal, worth £10. I shall have pleasure in acknowledging the subscriptions, and hope you may by your kind co-operation aid in bringing this memorial for so worthy an object to a successful completion."

Early in November, 1890, Mr. Day was able to announce in the Cork press that as the result of his circular the subscriptions from London and its vicinity amounted to £37, that Mr. Barter, with his well-known generosity, contributed £20, and that Cork had subscribed £23, leaving a little more than £9 due to Mr. Barter, besides some incidental expenses. Mr. Day wrote, in conclusion: "Cork owes much to Mr. Thomas Dillon Croker, but for him the bust of their gifted and lamented townsman would not have had its fitting place in the School of Art. I sincerely trust, that now the ice has been broken, we may have in the same gallery companion busts of three men of whom Cork is justly proud. Two have won imperial fame as artists—Barry and Maclise. The other has already more monuments than one in our city; without him the building which shelters the bust of Prout would be still waste ground. Need I mention the honoured name of William Crawford; and may I hope that the many in Cork who owe so much to his princely generosity, will place his bust in the Crawford Gallery." In the same month of Nov., 1890, Mr. T. D. Croker wrote to the "Globe," London (a newspaper with which Father Prout was at one time connected): "I have at last the gratification of informing you of the successful issue of the 'Father Prout Memorial,' and that a bust of the Rev. Father Mahony, the work of Mr. Richard Barter, the eminent sculptor, Blarney, has now been unveiled in the Crawford School of Art at Cork, and is accounted an admirable likeness. I should, myself, have rather seen the memorial take the form of a mural tablet over the grave, which is under the shadow of Shandon steeple, whose bells the 'Father' celebrated in song; but, unfortunately, difficulties were unexpectedly thrown in the way of my project. It is only right to add that a satisfactory termination to the memorial scheme has been mainly due to the energy of my friend, Mr. Robert Day, F.S.A., of Cork, who has kindly acted on my behalf as local treasurer."

It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Day's admirable suggestion as to the busts of Barry, Maclise, and William Crawford have not as yet taken any definite form.

J. C.

Reviews of Books.

"The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork." By Dorothea Townsend. London: Duckworth & Co., 1904. Demy 8vo. Price, 18/- net.

Richard Boyle, the "Great" Earl of Cork, was one of those cadets of fortune who flourished in the romantic days of Queen Elizabeth, when the adventures of the Briton were undertaken even in far off corners of the world. Of humble origin and of no estate, Boyle lived to occupy a position subordinate to few in the Ireland of his day, 1588—1642. Some men create opportunities, some avail of them, he did both, but rarely by means which bear to be closely investigated. Soon after his arrival in Ireland he obtained the post of deputy to the Escheator General of Ireland, an office which by nature and a training consisting of some acquaintance with legal documents he was able to fill with advantage to himself, and which proved to be the foundation of his immense fortune. The province of the Escheator was, as the name implies, to investigate

and enforce the feudal claims of the Crown to lands forfeited through attainder, marriage of the owner without the consent of the Crown, unauthorised alienation, etc.; also to lapsed grants, wardships, and so forth. He was thus brought into immediate touch with the very soil, and the position enabled him, an unscrupulous individual as he was, to enrich himself at the public expense by obtaining patents for these lands, and by accepting bribes from other proprietors to perfect some slight irregularities in their titles. His official misconduct was the cause of much political disquiet amongst the native Irish whom he had ruined or supplanted, and was the substance of many a well-founded complaint against him. He tided over these difficulties principally, perhaps entirely, through his accommodating disposition. There were few in any public position in Ireland to whom he had not lent money, and his well-timed and oft-repeated presents undoubtedly proved profitable investments in due season.

Boyle's greed for land was insatiable. The more he possessed the more he required. He obtained patents of estates and church livings in various counties, and when he was unable to purchase the freehold outright he was content with a lease. He also lent heavily on mortgage, which enabled him to foreclose. Possession was his great desire, and he trusted to time and circumstances to make it absolute. He passed from one office to another, and speedily increased his possessions, but from first to last the avenging spirit never permitted him a long respite. Early in his career Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer of the Exchequer, had him cast into prison for official dishonesty. He subsequently encountered the enmity of high state officials, and in his latter years was seriously tackled by the Lord Deputy Strafford and forced to disgorge vast quantities of his illgotten property. Mrs. Townshend, with a heroism worthy of a nobler subject, endeavours to purify the character of this man from the imputations that sully it, but an array of facts well authenticated by contemporary evidence is beyond the power of the most accomplished biographer to refute. The book as a literary production, and indeed from other points of view also, is a meritorious and pleasing one, although it lacks historical insight, so rare an acquirement, yet so absolutely essential in dealing with the man and the events of the period under notice. The main achievement of the book, and apparently the inspiration of it, is the social presentment of the Earl, his fifteen or sixteen children, and the vagaries of his sons-in-law. The side-lights shot from this quarter, although they may tend to mellow down, do not always serve to ennoble the character of the Earl. In mid life we find him actively engaged, after the manner of a *nouveau riche*, in purchasing titles—the matter of the earldom alone, it is interesting to know, cost him £4,000—and in erecting vast sepulchral monuments to himself and his relations.



THE GREAT EARL OF CORK.

The acquisition of these titles for himself and his family seems to have been a life study, and the result of many a deeply-laid scheme; whilst one of the monuments—erected more in self-aggrandisement than in memory of the dead—occasioned him much annoyance in his latter years. The marriages of his daughters to the Earls of Barrymore and of Kildare—two events which considerably stimulated his pride—were effected by a certain kind of kidnapping happily confined to other days. They occurred in this wise. The infamous Court of Wards was entitled to the wardship of minors and the income of their estates during minority. This was a fruitful source of revenue to the Crown, who invariably sold its rights for a fixed sum. Boyle became the purchaser of the wardships of Barrymore and Kildare, and was thus enabled to exercise his position over these infant lords to secure family alliances with some of the oldest titled houses in the country. From titles we turn to mottoes. His was "God's providence is my inheritance." Could anything be more indicative of the character of the man, considering the mean sources—craft and dishonesty—to which he was indebted for his rise in the world? One of the monuments referred to—that in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin—cost him £400, a mere trifle in its way, to erect. It stood at the east end of the chancel and interfered with the light from one of the windows. Strafford and Archbishop Laud must have had the purification of God's temple from the unsightly structure very dear at heart, since they caused it to be removed, to Boyle's great discomfiture. This might be said to have been the first successful thrust delivered at him, and to have put a period to his prosperity.

Space does not permit a reference to more than a few of the many matters touched in this book. The foundations of Bandon and Clonakilty, particularly the former, were Boyle's life work and pride. His avarice and prejudices were too deep-rooted to permit of his plantations being anything more than a temporary and local success; and his policy of extermination of the native race can scarcely be regarded otherwise than indicative of incompetence to utilise human power.

The book is a portly one, and, considering the unpromising materials contained in the *Lismore Papers*, from which it has been principally built up, we must acknowledge it to be (while we differ with the author's estimate of the man) a remarkable and clever work. It is, however, rather drawn out and occasionally overcharged with insignificant details. The reader is, for instance, constantly introduced to the Earl's wardrobe, and informed of the presents made by him of his cast-off clothes to poor relations and friends. There is, too, a somewhat forced representation of the Earl in the light of chivalry. He is stated to have contested actions in the law courts to their bitterest extremes, and, on his eventual success, to have handed over a substantial solatium to an

antagonist; but this, in view of the nature of the transaction usually involved, was more an expression of the bravado of the footpad, who having relieved his victim of his purse, flings him a few pieces with which to pursue his journey, than the elevating, spontaneous action of the knight errant. This, we consider, is straining for a social glimpse and a new light at too great expense. The book is well printed, strongly bound, equipped with a serviceable index, and illustrated with several family portraits.

"The Early Institutions of Ireland." By Florence O'Sullivan. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. Price, 1/-.

The main features of the social life that obtained in Ireland in very primitive times are presented very lucidly in this thoughtful brochure. The author, it is observed, is a practising lawyer in our own county, and has occasionally availed himself of his practical knowledge of modern law in illustrating his subject. The book is one that commends itself to us, and is worth reading, particularly by those not gifted with the necessary perseverance to wade through all the published volumes of the Brehon Laws. We hope that the present publication represents the first fruits only of the author's studies, and that he will be heard of soon again.

Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language. Report for 1903.

This is a most gratifying record of achievements in the cause of the Irish language. The Society is one of fairly respectable antiquity, and consequently, we fear, rather disposed to claim for itself, in a parental sort of fashion, too great a share in the credit arising from the recently revived interest in the language. It has been approximately estimated that a language takes from twenty-five to thirty years to revive; and considering that the annual report under notice is the twenty-sixth issued by the Society, and that the language is not yet taught in several of our "National" schools, we are forced to conclude that, even in its most flourishing days, the Society must have been exceedingly deficient in vivifying power. The Society has performed a share of useful work, in the way of handy publications, in times past, but other hands were necessary to raise up the language from its death bed. The credit balance on the 31st December last was the substantial sum of £766 17s. 5d. This amount accounts perhaps for the Society's having done so little hitherto, and certainly indicates a greater aptitude for collecting and hoarding up money than for distributing knowledge and encouraging and fostering scholarship. There are now so many outlets for advantageous and necessary expenditure in connection with the language movement, that we confidently look forward to see this sum bearing better results than a bank rate before many more reports appear.

J. B.



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King Dermot MacCarthy's Charter, A.D. 1174, to the
Church at Cork, afterwards called Gill-Abbey.

BY MARTIN J. BLAKE.



THE Charter of Dermot MacCarthy, King of Munster (i.e., Desmond), to the church, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, of the Monastery of the Cave of St. Finbar, at Cork, is probably the very oldest document connected with the city of Cork of which any authentic record now exists; and it is also interesting as being almost the only specimen of a charter, of the text of which any record now remains, made by one of the native Irish princes as distinguished from the Anglo-Norman kings and settlers. The original charter itself, it is true, no longer exists, but a Latin transcript of it made for, or by, the antiquary Sir James Ware some time after 1630, is preserved in the library of the British Museum (Additional MS. No. 4793 at folio 65). Whether the original charter was written in Latin or in Irish cannot now be ascertained, but most probably it was written in Latin. Neither can the date of the charter

be fixed exactly, but it can approximately be assigned to some date between A.D. 1173 and A.D. 1179, because among the witnesses to the charter appear the names of "Christian, Bishop of Lismore and Legate of the Apostolic See," and "Gregory, Bishop of Cork"; and we know that Christian O'Conarchy, Bishop of Lismore, and Joint Legate with Cardinal John Paparo, resigned the See of Lismore before A.D. 1179, for in that year one Felix attended the Lateran Council as Bishop of Lismore (see Ware's "Works," Harris' edition (1764), vol. i., at p. 551); and we know also that Gilla-Aedha O'Muidhin, Bishop of Cork, died in A.D. 1172 ("Annals of the Four Masters"), and was succeeded in the same year by one "Gregory" as Bishop of Cork (see Ware's "Works," Harris' edition (1764), vol. i., at p. 557). Ware did not know the surname of this "Gregory" who succeeded to the See of Cork in 1172, but his surname in fact was O'Hea (O'hAedha), and he died in A.D. 1182 (see "Annals of Loch Ce"). Ware, in a note in the margin of the MS. transcript of the charter in the British Museum, gives A.D. 1174 as the probable date of the charter, and this is very likely the exact date. Both the Latin text of King Dermot's Charter (taken from the MS. transcript in the British Museum) and a translation of it are given in the excellent "Historical and Descriptive Handbook of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral (Appendix D)," prepared by the Reverend Andrew Robinson, and published in 1897 by Guy and Co., Cork. But the interesting notes, written probably by Ware himself, which are appended to the transcript of the charter in the British Museum manuscript, have never been published, and they will, I think, be of interest to the readers of the "Cork Archæological Journal"; but as they would not be intelligible to readers without having the text of the charter itself before them, I think it well to reproduce the charter here, together with a translation of it. Before doing so, I would like to make some observations upon the charter itself, and the circumstances which most probably occasioned it.

King Dermot's Charter was made (as the charter itself expressly states) for the purpose of recording and confirming the endowments conferred by Dermot's father, Cormac MacCarthy, King of Munster (i.e., Desmond), upon the Church of St. John the Evangelist at Cork, which said Cormac had built "for Maurice the Archbishop and for Gregory and for their successors the pilgrims from Connaught the compatriots of St. Barre." This Cormac MacCarthy (who was styled Mayhounagh) was the son of Moraugh MacCarthy, who was the son of Carthy, from whom the surname "MacCarthy" originated. But

King Cormac MacCarthy's name and fame are best perpetuated by that splendid specimen of Irish-Romanesque architecture, the beautiful building known as Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel, the building of which was begun by him about A.D. 1127, and which was consecrated in A.D. 1134 or 1135 ("Annals of the Four Masters" and of "Loch Ce"). It is, of course, well known that St. Finbarre, the first founder of a monastic foundation at Cork (about A.D. 606), was of Connaught parentage on his father's side, being the son of Amergin of the race of Hy-Briuin, whose territory lay along the eastern shore of Lough Corrib, in county Galway. But some explanation is needed to show why Cormac MacCarthy should have chosen to build and endow a monastic church at Cork "for Maurice the Archbishop, and for Gregory, and for their successors the pilgrims from Connaught, compatriots of St. Finbarre." Now Cormac MacCarthy from the time of his accession to the sovereignty of Desmond in A.D. 1123, down to A.D. 1134, was continuously at warfare with Turlough-mor O'Connor, King of Connaught, who eventually became King of Ireland. Turlough O'Connor generally, but not always, got the better of Cormac MacCarthy in this warfare. In A.D. 1133 Cormac MacCarthy had invaded Connaught and plundered the country there; and thereupon Turlough O'Connor assembled a large army and was about to invade Desmond to punish Cormac for this. But in these circumstances, in A.D. 1134, through the intervention of Muiredheach O'Duffy, then High Bishop (Ard-easpuc) of Connaught, a member of the Order of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and (as I think) of Gilla-Aedha O'Muidhin, also a native of Connaught, of the community of Errew of Lough Conn, in the county of Mayo, a treaty of peace was concluded between Turlough O'Connor and Cormac MacCarthy; and it was made a condition of this treaty that Cormac should build and endow a Monastic Church at Cork for the Canons Regular of St. Augustine upon the site of the old monastery of the Cave of St. Finbarre. This explains the statement that Cormac built and endowed the church at Cork "for Maurice the Archbishop, and for Gregory, and for their successors the pilgrims from Connaught the compatriots of St. Finbarre." The word "Mauritius" in the charter would be the Latinized form of the Irish word "Muiredheach," and the Irish word "Ard-Easpuc" would be Latinized as "Archiepiscopus"; and further, the Irish word "Gilla-Aedha" would very likely be Latinized as "Gregorius." It is at all events certain that Muiredheach O'Duffy was Bishop of Tuam in A.D. 1134; he died at Cong in A.D. 1150, and is described in the "Annals of the Four Masters" as "Airdeaspuc

Connact"—"High Bishop of Connaught." It is extremely probable also that Gilla-Aedha O'Muidhin was constituted the first Abbot of this new monastic foundation of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine founded at Cork in A.D. 1134 by Cormac MacCarthy, and he was subsequently, about A.D. 1140, made Bishop of Cork, at the solicitation, it is said, of St. Malachy O'Morgair. Indeed the monastery itself was afterwards called Gill-Abbey, from this "Gilla-Aedha" O'Muidhin. Moreover, the following passages in an old Rental of the Abbey of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine of Cong, in the county of Mayo, made in A.D. 1501 by Tagdh O'Duffy, a monk of Cong Abbey (a transcript of which is also preserved in the British Museum Library, Additional MS. No. 4787 at folio 1), afford strong evidence that Cormac MacCarthy had bound himself to confer various endowments and privileges upon the Abbey of Cong, doubtless as part of the conditions imposed upon him by the treaty above referred to, by way of restitution for the plunders committed by the men of Desmond in Connaught on previous occasions in the warfare between Cormac MacCarthy and Turlough O'Conor.

"Item: Cormac MacCarthy, Chief of his nation, gave to the aforesaid Monastery (Cong) the parcel of land in his patrimony of Birra (Beara), called Inis-Conge, and a bell-rope from the ships whenever going out of the harbour of Dunboith (Dunboy)": "Item. That no lay person can levy anything in the City of Cork without the licence of the Ordinary, and of the Church of the Abbot of Cong; and from the day on which he is constituted and appointed the Abbot of Cork is bound to yield every year to the Abbot of Cong 16 half marks for gilding the chalices of the Monastery of Cong, and on the same day is bound to hand over all the vestments of the new Abbot of Cork to the Treasury of Cong." "Moreover the above Cormac MacCarthy gave to the Monastery of Cong a bell-rope from every ship whenever going out of the harbour at Cork."

Although the treaty of peace between Turlough O'Conor and Cormac MacCarthy was made in A.D. 1134, the building of the new monastic church at Cork was not erected until A.D. 1137. King Cormac MacCarthy was unhappily slain in the next year, A.D. 1138, by Turlough, son of Dermot O'Brien, and the people of Thomond, and his death is thus recorded in the "Annals of Loch Ce":—

"A.D. 1138: Cormac, the grandson of Carthy, Chief King of Desmond, and bishop-king of Erin in his time, as regards piety and the presentation of jewels and valuables to clerics and churches . . . fell in treachery by the people of Tuadh-Mumha . . . And a blessing be on his soul."

Cormac's son, Dermot MacCarthy, was kept out of the enjoyment of the sovereignty of Desmond for many years after A.D. 1138, by the

O'Briens of Thomond; but eventually, in A.D. 1150-1, he was established in the sovereignty of Desmond by the assistance of Turlough O'Connor and the men of Connaught, as is thus recorded in the "Annals of the Four Masters": "A.D. 1151: The sovereignty of Desmond was assumed by the son of Cormac, grandson of Carthy, tria comfurtact Connact" (thrice assisted by the Connacians): O'Donovan in his translation strangely omits these last three words of the Irish original.

Although restored to his kingship in A.D. 1151, Dermot MacCarthy did not issue his charter confirming his father's endowments to the church at Cork until about A.D. 1174. It must be borne in mind that the city of Cork was at that time (1174) taken possession of, and held, by the English invaders. That fact probably influenced King Dermot and the donees of the endowment, for they must have realised that having regard to the new order of things in Cork it was most important to the donees to have some permanent record made and preserved of the endowments bestowed upon them. Sir James Ware had certainly access to many ancient charters and documents that once belonged to the Abbey of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Cong (as his transcript of the O'Duffy MS. relating to that Abbey proves); and I conceive that the original of King Dermot's Charter had been preserved in the Abbey of Cong, and that Ware was thus enabled to make his transcript of it.

King Dermot's Charter, it may be noticed, also expressly states that Dermot's son, Cormac MacCarthy, conferred the lands of Maduelgi as an endowment to the church at Cork at the request of Catholicus, Archbishop of Tuam. This "Catholicus" was Cathal O'Duffy, who succeeded Aedh O'Hessian as Archbishop of Tuam in A.D. 1161, and died A.D. 1201. Dermot's son, the Cormac MacCarthy mentioned in the charter, was styled Lehanagh or Lehane; in A.D. 1177, three years after the date of the charter, this Cormac rebelled against his father, King Dermot, deposed him, and kept him in captivity: but the men of Desmond shortly afterwards in the same year (1177) slew Cormac and restored his father, Dermot, to the sovereignty ("Annals Four Masters," A.D. 1177). King Dermot MacCarthy was himself slain eight years afterwards, in A.D. 1185, by the English foreigners of Cork ("Annals Four Masters, A.D. 1185), at a place called Cuill-baguine (Kilbawne), and from that circumstance he was afterwards described as "Dermot of Kilbawne." Dermot's surviving son, Donnell MacCarthy, succeeded him as King of Desmond. He was styled Donnell-mor ni Curra, and he maintained a very successful resistance to the English invaders of

Desmond, whom he defeated in A.D. 1196 and again in A.D. 1203. He died in A.D. 1206 ("Annals Loch Ce"); and after him the Lordship and the name of Desmond becomes associated in Irish history with the Anglo-Norman Fitzgeralds rather than with the old race of MacCarthy.

The following is the text of King Dermot's Charter:—

"Dermitius divina favente clementia Rex Momonensium, universis Christi fidelibus tam presentibus quam futuris, pacem in perpetuum et salutem. Labilem experti mortalium memoriam et labentis mundi pompam instabilem, id circo Chartis commendare dignum duximus, quanto dilectionis studio beate memoriae Pater meus Cormacus, Rex Momonensium ecclesiam S. Johannis Apostoli et Evangeliste Corcagie, Mauritio Archiepiscopo, et Gregorio [et] successoribus eorum peregrinis de Connacia S. Barri compatriotis edificaverit, ac suis defendam commandaverit. Nunc autem paterno petitus regno, divino fretus auxilio, eandem ecclesiam, sicut regiam decet magnificentiam pro remedio anime mee et parentum meorum defendendam suscepi, et ad honorem sanctorum quorum idem locus esse dignoscitur sublimare [et] amplificare proposui. Noverit itaque universitas fidelium me cuncta que idem locus juste in presenti possidet, vel paterna oblatione, vel aliorum Regum donatione; Gloriosus namque pater meus Rex, eidem loco, Lysuctdach et Clochan tradidit; Diarmut O'Concubair Killina-Canigh donavit; que ego sequatibus confirmo. Villam vero Illæ me sciat ecclesiam eisdem peregrinis dedisse et hac mea charta confirmasse. Illustis autem filius meus Cormacus, petente Catholico Tuamensi Archiepiscopo, Maduelgi Deo et Sancto Johanne pro remedio anime sue et nostre eternaliter, libere et quiete absque ullo seculari servitio contulit, quam Nos villam regiam donatione confirmavimus. Ipsum denique cœnobium cum predictis villis in nostram tuitionem suscepimus ab omni reddito seculari securimus quiete et libere Deo eternaliter concedimus. Ne vero . . . vel de cetero de his aliquis . . . presumat, nostri sigilli impressione hanc chartam premunivimus, et peregrinis Conactensibus sub idoneis testibus servandam . . . Testes hi sunt, ex clerico et populo: Christianus, Lismorensis Episcopus et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatis; Donatus, Archiepiscopus Casselensis; Gregorius, Episcopus Corkensis; Bricius, Episcopus Limericensis; Benedictus, Episcopus Rossensis; Matheus, Episcopus Clounensis; Donatus, Abbas de Magio; Gregorius, Abbas de Cunnga; Eugenius, Ardmorensis Episcopus."

[Translation.]

"Dermot, by the favour of divine clemency, King of Munster, to all the faithful of Christ, as well present as future, peace for ever and Greeting. Having experience of the fleeting memory of mortals and the unstable pomp of a world passing away, We have therefore thought it worthy to commemorate in charters the great zeal of love with which my father, Cormac, King of Munster, of blessed memory, built the church of St. John, Apostle and Evangelist, at Cork, for Archbishop Maurice, and for Gregory, and for their successors the pilgrims from Connaught, compatriots of St. Barri, and commended its defence to his descendants. But now having been called to my paternal kingdom, relying on divine aid, I have undertaken, as becomes royal magnificence, to defend the said church for the welfare of

my own soul and the souls of my parents; and I have proposed to elevate and enlarge it for the honour of the Saints whose the same place is known to be. Therefore let the whole body of the faithful know that I [confirm] all things which the said place justly at present possesses, either by the presentation of my father or by the donation of other Kings. For my glorious father, the King, handed over to the said place, Lysuctdach and Clochan; Dermot O'Conor gave it Killina-Canigh; which I by the following confirm. And be it known that I have given and by this my charter have confirmed the land and church of Illa to the said pilgrims. Moreover, my illustrious son, Cormac, at the request of Catholicus, Archbishop of Tuam, has granted to God and St. John, for the eternal welfare of his own soul and ours, Maduelgi, freely and peaceably and without any secular service, which royal land we have confirmed by grant. Finally, the Monastery itself, with all the aforesaid lands, we have taken under our protection, and have secured from all secular rent, and grant it peaceably and freely for ever to God. But lest anyone either about some other or about these things should presume [to question the matter], We have authenticated this charter with the impression of our seal, and [have delivered it] to be preserved by the pilgrims from Connaught before fitting witnesses. These are the witnesses from the clergy and the people: Christian, Bishop of Lismore and Legate of the Apostolic See; Donat, Archbishop of Cashel; Gregory, Bishop of Cork; Bricius, Bishop of Limerick; Benedict, Bishop of Ross; Mathew, Bishop of Cloyne; Donat, Abbot of Magio; Gregory, Abbot of Cong; Eugene, Bishop of Ardmore."

Appended to the transcript of the charter in the manuscript in the British Museum appear the following Notes (made probably by Sir James Ware) written in Latin, and lettered respectively (A), (B), (C), (D). The writer of these Notes quotes several passages from certain "Irish Annals" which I have been unable to identify. The annotator has, however, written the Irish words partly in the Irish letters but mainly in English letters; and consequently many of the words quoted will be, I fear, unintelligible. Note (A) has reference to King Dermot, the grantor of the charter; Note (B) refers to his father, Cormac MacCarthy; Note (C) deals with the question of the site of the church to which the charter was granted; and Note (D) discusses the establishment of Archbishoprics. After these Notes there is added a further Note, expressly stated to have been made by some anonymous person, which gives certain data for ascertaining the date of the charter.

NOTES ABOVE REFERRED TO.

- (A). "Hunc Annales Hibernici a loco occisionis vocant Diarmaid Cilli-baguine, cujus regni initium et finem, succedente note meminerunt: Anno 1150. Rig Muman do denam do Diarmot McCormac Muighannugh do marbad la Gallaib a Cuillbaguine ceidin iarsin."

[Translation.]

"Him the Irish Annals call Dermot of Kilbawne from the place he was slain at, the beginning and end of whose reign are recorded in the succeeding note: Anno 1150. Dermot, son of Cormac of Muighannugh was made King of Munster, he was slain by the foreigners at the green of Kilbawne afterwards."

- (B). "Is est quem Annales Cormac Muighannugh vocant cujus regni initium et finem ita notant:

"Anno 1123. Cormaic mac Muriagh McCartaig do gabail rige:

"Anno 1126. Cormuc Mac Muriagh McCartaig do Aitsiocean do matuib 7 adulgo Lios-mor an oiltre 7 bacal do gabail do an:

"Anno 1134. Tempal do Sinead la Cormuc McMurriag McCartaig a Casseal do cosecrad la hardespice Cassel 7 la heasbagaib Mumain uille irisgo i onoir more."

[Translation.]

"He it is whom the Annals call Cormac of Muighannugh, the beginning and end of whose reign they note thus:

"Anno 1123. Cormac, son of Muriagh McCarthy, was made king:

"Anno 1126. Cormac, son of Muriagh McCarthy, was reconciled (?) . . . to Lismore on pilgrimage, and took the crozier there also:

"Anno 1134. The Church for the Synod (built) by Cormac, son of Muriagh McCarthy, at Cashel was consecrated by the high-bishop of Cashel and by the bishopry of Munster."

- (c). "Aliqui volunt hanc ecclesiam sitam esse extra australem portam Civitatis Corkagensis licet ex ruina non appareat, dicunt tamen esse Monasterium cum in fine hujus diplomatis vocetur cœnobium et communis traditio fit fuisse ibi moinum. Moniatium nunc autem vix appareat vestigia ecclesiæ aut moini in ejus tamen fundo D. Thomas Ronain, Maior Civitatis anno 1630, edificari curavit hospitale pauperum. Sed credidimus potius per hanc ecclesiam significari monad antri S. Finbari prope Cork, tam quia cœnobium Canonicorum Regularium est hunc etiam quia meminerat hoc diplomate terras hodie adhuc possidet ejusque fundatio. Haec tempora incidit juxta Annales Hibernici:

"Anno 1137. Manister do uamhain again eascob oduired ag eaini Barra a Corcaig: nunc a vulgo dicitur Monaister Gilla-Aeda, a S. Gilla-Ada, ejusdem cenobii abbate, posteaque Episcopo Corcagensis, qui obiit 1173."

[Translation.]

"Some will have that this church was situate outside the south gate of the City of Cork, though it is not apparent from the ruins, they say nevertheless it was the Monastery which at the end of this charter is called the cell, and the common tradition makes a monastery to have been there. But now hardly any traces of the monastery appear, for Thomas Ronain, Mayor of the City of Cork in the year 1630, took care to build the Hospital of the poor on the foundation of that church or monastery. But we believe rather, that by this church is meant the monastery of the cave of St. Finbar, near Cork, as well because the monastery of the Canons Regular is there, as also because that foundation

to this day possesses the lands mentioned in this charter. These things happened according to the Irish Annals:

"Anno 1137. The Monastery of the Cave was built for the Bishop O'Duffy under the protection of Barri, at Cork (?): Now commonly called Gille-Abbey, from St. Gilla-Ada, Abbot of that monastery, and afterwards Bishop of Cork, who died 1173."

- (D). "Cum hec Diploma editum fit post Anno 1150 videtur evidens esse Archiepiscopum hunc fuisse dictum ante adventum Christiani Legati, vel Papironis qui dicitur instituisse 4 Archiepiscopos Hiberniæ. Nam cum hæc donatio facta fuit a Cormac Muighannuig, qui anno 1138, multos annos ante adventum Christiani in Hiberniam, obiit, patet Mauritium cui donatio facta fuit precessisse adventum Christiani. De hoc autem Mauritio Archiepiscopo ita habent Annales Hiberniæ:

"1134. Tainic Murdac h'Dubtaig Ardespic Conact o Toirdelbac McRuadhri O'Conor do denam sioda idir Leit-cuin 7 Leit-Mo 7 tug Cormuic McMurriag sioth do Toirdelbar a nonoir an ardespic. Hujus etiam pacis causa hec charta verisimiliter facta fuit."

[Translation.]

"As this charter was issued after the year 1150, it appears to be evident that the said Archbishop was here before the advent of Christian, the Legate, or of Papiron, who is said to have instituted four Archbishops for Ireland. For as this grant was made by Cormac of Muighannuig, who died in the year 1138, many years before the advent of Christian into Ireland, it appears that Maurice, to whom the grant was made, preceded the advent of Christian. Moreover, concerning this Maurice the Archbishop, the Annals of Ireland thus record:

"1134. Muiredeach O'Duffy, High Bishop of Connaught, went on behalf of Turlough, son of Roderick O'Conor, and made peace between Leath-Cuin and Leath-Mogha, and Turlough gave Cormac, son of Murriagh, peace at the request (?) of the high-bishop. This charter very likely was also made on account of that peace."

"Ita Anonimus quidam: Nota, De testibus chartæ predictæ ut inde facilius tempus hujus donationis ecuatur:

Christianus, Lismorensis Episcopus (obiit) 1185, sed ante obitum, resignavit; nam Felix, Episcopus Lismorensis, missus fuit ad Concilium Lateranense 1179.

Donatus, Archiepiscopus Cassel, consecratus 1159, obiit 1182.

Gregorius, Episcopus Corcagensis, consecratus 1173.

Bricius, Episcopus Limericensis . . .

Unde colligo Dermitium, filium Cormaci, hujus chartæ donatorem posteriorem esse Dermitio illo cujus supra fit mentio in prima Nota (A)."

[Translation.]

"Some anonymous person (notes) thus: Notes concerning the witnesses of the aforesaid charter whereby the date of the grant may more easily be ascertained:

Christian, Bishop of Lismore (died) 1185, but had resigned before his death; for Felix, Bishop of Lismore, was sent to the Lateran Council, 1179.

Donat, Archbishop of Cashel, was consecrated 1159, died 1182.

Gregory, Bishop of Cork, was consecrated 1173.

Bricius, Bishop of Limerick . . .

Whence I gather that Dermot, the son of Cormac, the grantor of this charter, was later in date ⁽¹⁾ to that Dermot of whom mention is made above in the first Note (A)."

The matters mentioned in Notes (A) and (B) have already been treated of at the beginning of this paper. With regard to Note (C) and the reference it makes to Thomas Ronain, Mayor of Cork in 1630, it appears from the "Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork" (edited by Richard Caulfield and published in 1876) that Thomas Ronnane was Mayor of Cork from the 6th October, 1629, to the 6th October, 1630, and that he had admitted a great many more than 10 poor persons to dwell in the Hospital, although by the will dated 20th March, 1584, of Stephen Skidmore, alias Skiddy, a rent of £24 a year was bequeathed in perpetuity to the Mayor for the time being of Cork for distribution among 10 of the poorest people of Cork city aged over 40 years; and consequently it was found necessary to pass a byelaw to reduce the number of poor persons resident in the hospital to 10.

As to Note (D): It is recorded in the works of Sir James Ware (Harris' edition, vol. i., pp. 31, 58) that in the year A.D. 1151, Pope Eugene III. sent John Paparo, Cardinal Priest of St. Lawrence in Damaso, as his Legate to Ireland with four Palls to be distributed there: and that at a Synod held at Kells in March, 1152, these four Palls were conferred by him respectively upon Gelasius MacLiagh of Armagh, Gregory of Dublin, Donat O'Lonargan of Cashel, and Aedh O'Hession of Tuam. Christian O'Conarchy, Bishop of Lismore was sent as Joint Legate with Cardinal John Paparo by the Pope on that occasion. This was the first occasion on which the Archiepiscopal Pall (Pallium) was conferred in Ireland. The Irish, however, had long before been in the habit of describing any Bishop who had become remarkable beyond his fellows by his piety or ability as "Ard-Eascop"—"High Bishop," and this phrase was invariably Latinized at "Archiepiscopus." It was in that way that the title "Archbishop" was applied to Maurice (Muiredeach) O'Duffy, who was Bishop of Tuam from A.D. 1128 to his death in A.D. 1150. His successor in the See of Tuam, Aedh O'Hession, received the Pall at the Synod of Kells in A.D. 1152 (as

(1) The annotator was mistaken in this surmise: the Dermot MacCarthy who acquired the sovereignty of Desmond in A.D. 1151, and who was "afterwards" slain at Kilbawne, was not slain until A.D. 1185: and he is identical with the Dermot McCarthy the grantor of the charter in A.D. 1174.

above mentioned), and was therefore the first Archbishop of Tuam canonically so constituted. Archbishop O'Hession died in A.D. 1160-1, and was succeeded by Cathal (Catholicus) O'Duffy as Archbishop of Tuam, who is also mentioned in the above charter of King Dermot.

The final Note appended to the charter in the British Museum manuscript is that of some anonymous annotator, who gives certain data respecting the witnesses to the charter, with a view to the ascertainment of its date. It may be useful to add some further details about these witnesses. The first was "Christian, Bishop of Lismore and Legate of the Apostolic See." I have already pointed out that this was Christian O'Conarchy. He was a disciple of St. Malachy O'Morgair, who sent him to be instructed by St. Bernard at Clairvaux, in France, where he joined the Cistercian Order, and returning to Ireland in A.D. 1142 was in that year appointed the first Abbot of Mellifont, the first establishment of the Cistercian Order in Ireland. In A.D. 1150 he was raised to the See of Lismore, and was appointed by the Pope a Legate for Ireland conjointly with Cardinal John Paparo. He still held the See of Lismore at the date of King Dermot MacCarthy's Charter—A.D. 1174—but resigned that See shortly afterwards, probably in A.D. 1175. He died in A.D. 1186, and was buried in the Cistercian Abbey of O'Dorney, in Kerry. The next witness was "Donatus, Archbishop of Cashel." This prelate was Donnell O'Hullachan, who was Archbishop of Cashel from A.D. 1158 to his death in A.D. 1184. The next witness, "Gregory, Bishop of Cork," was Gregory O'Hea, who succeeded Gilla-Aedha O'Muidhin as Bishop of Cork in A.D. 1172, and who died in A.D. 1182 ("Annals Loch Ce"). With regard to the next two signatories, "Bricius, Bishop of Limerick," and "Benedict, Bishop of Ross," we only know that they were the names of Bishops who occupied those Sees respectively in A.D. 1174. The next witness was "Mathew, Bishop of Cloyne"; this was Mathew O'Mongagh, who was Bishop of Cloyne from about A.D. 1168 to A.D. 1192, when his death is recorded in the "Annals of Innisfallen." Then came "Donatus, Abbot of Magio." This Abbey must not be confounded with the Abbey of Magheo, in the county of Mayo; the "Magio" here referred to was the Cistercian Abbey of Maige or Mage, also called Monaster-Nenagh, situated in the Barony of Poble-O'Brien, in county Limerick, which was founded by one of the O'Briens of Thomond in A.D. 1148 or A.D. 1151. The next witness was "Gregory, Abbot of Cong." I cannot identify with certainty whom this Gregory, Abbot of Cong in A.D. 1174, was; but there is still (1904) preserved in the market place at Cong the original

pedestal of an ancient stone cross bearing the following inscription in Irish characters: "Or do Nichol agus do Gillebard O'Dubthaith Rigni Abaiddeach Cunga," "Pray for Nichol, the artist, and for Gillebard O'Duffy, Abbot of Cong"; and it may well be that this Gillebard O'Duffy was the Abbot of Cong who in A.D. 1174 witnessed King Dermot's Charter, and whose Christian name Gillebard is therein Latinized as "Gregorius."

Most of the information ascertainable about Gill-Abbey has been put together by Archdall in his "*Monasticon Hibernicum*," pp. 62-65. The details there given may, however, be supplemented by the following particulars. In A.D. 1473-4 (13 Edward IV.) one William White, and John, his son, granted to the said Abbey a parcel of land in "Shandon, near Cork, situated, latitudinally, between the land of (the church of) St. John the Baptist on the north and the land of the said William White on the south, and longitudinally, between the land of the Monastery of the Franciscans, alias the Grey Friars, on the west, and the King's Highway on the east." In A.D. 1539 the Canons of Gill-Abbey granted a lease for 59 years to John Coppinger, of the city of Cork, of a "park in Shandon" (see King's "*MSS. Collectanea*," vol. xiii., p. 336).

On the 26th of June, 1591, Queen Elizabeth granted by patent to Sir Richard Grenville, Knight, in tail male, "the site of the Monastery De Antro of St. Finbar, alias Gilley, with the buildings, gardens, water-mill, and two weirs for taking salmon, called Corringraghine and Corrinckowpoge: and also Kyllynecananaughe, lying to the north side of the water at Cork"; and the spiritualities of the said Abbey were then also leased to the said Sir Richard Grenville for a term of 40 years (see the 16th Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Ireland, at p. 161, published in 1884). The Sir Richard Grenville, or Greenville, to whom this patent was granted, was a cousin of and fellow explorer with Sir Walter Raleigh, and accompanied Raleigh on his expedition to Virginia in 1584-5. Sir Richard Grenville died in the very year (1591) this patent was granted. He was appointed vice-admiral of a squadron designed to intercept the Spanish treasure ships coming from the West Indies, and although he met with and attacked the treasure fleet, he was overcome by the Spanish war ships convoying the fleet, and being taken prisoner died, of the wounds received in the action, shortly after.



I. & II. (*See page 161*).



III. (*See page 161*).

CHARMS EMPLOYED IN CATTLE DISEASES.

Charms Employed in Cattle Diseases.

By ROBERT DAY, F.S.A.



THE deep-seated belief in the attributes and existence of the fairies or good people so prevalent among the Irish peasantry has been recorded in the legends of Thomas Crofton Croker, and the popular writings of Carleton, Griffin, and Lover, who describe the potency of their spells, and the evil and mischief caused by them to the farmer's stock and household, but with the fairy stroke there is the antidote, with the disease the cure, with the wound the healing charm, in which the most implicit faith is placed by the people. Of such talismans there are various and many kinds. Pennant in his *Tour* (i., 115) relates how the stone arrow-heads of the old inhabitants are supposed to be weapons shot by fairies at cattle, to which are attributed any disorders they have. In order to effect a cure the cow is to be touched by an elf shot, or made to drink the water in which which one had been dipped; the same virtue is said to be found in the crystal gems and in the adder stone. Captain Archibald Campbell shewed Pennant one of the former, a spheroid, set in silver, for the use of which people came above one hundred miles, and brought the water it was to be dipped in with them, for without that, in human cases, it was believed to have no effect. It was an old-time belief that the toad carried in its head an antidote against its own poison, to which Shakespeare adverts in "As You Like It":

"Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head."

Thus it became the popular idea that the uncanny influence which produced the ailment had with it the remedy against its own virulence. This is further exemplified in the connock, which is an exact representation of the murrain caterpillar. Two of these have been found in the county Cork, one at Doneraile, the other at Timoleague, which, from their workmanship and close resemblance one to the other, were probably made in Cork by the same silversmith. They are of silver, and set with paste of different colours to correspond with the markings on

the caterpillar. These caterpillars, when swallowed by the cattle, were supposed to be the cause of the distemper. Both of these connocks are in the Dublin Museum, and are illustrated in Windele's paper.⁽¹⁾ Here we have the arrow head on one hand and the caterpillar on the other, as the direct causes of certain ailments, used for the purpose of dispelling them, and restoring health to the smitten herd, reminding us of the plague-stricken Philistines, who made golden images of their emerods, and the snake-bitten Israelites, who on looking upon the brazen serpent were healed. In the northern counties of Ireland where stone arrow-heads are much more common than in the South, farmers have informed me that the fairies before using the elf-darts imbued them in the dew of the hemlock and mounted them on shafts of bog reed. Collins, in his ode on the popular superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland,⁽²⁾ says, when speaking of the fairies :

"There every herd by sad experience knows
How wing'd with fate their elf-shot arrows fly,
When the sick ewe her summer food foregoes,
Or stretched on earth the heart smit heifers lie."

Vallancey, ⁽³⁾ in 1784, relates that in the highlands of Scotland there is a large crystal, of a figure somewhat oval, which priests kept to work charms by ; water poured upon it at this day is given to cattle against diseases. Similar stones are now preserved by the oldest and most superstitious in the country ; and adds : "they were once common in Ireland, and the Earl of Tyrone is in possession of a very fine one."

In the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh are four perforated stones or whorls,⁽⁴⁾ called snake stones, used in Lewis as charms against cattle disease ; and in Galloway ancient perforated discs of black shale, five or six inches in diameter, are employed to counteract the supposed effects of witchcraft, especially in black cattle and horses. These amulets are not unlike the holy stone suspended in stables as a charm against nightmare, an affliction brought on by the nocturnal fiend Mara, and hence frequently denominated witch riding.

The Marquis of Waterford has an heirloom in his family, a large globular crystal, hooped with silver. When lent, it is placed by the

(1) "Kilkenny Journal," vol. v.

(2) London, 1788, p. 10.

(3) "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicus," No. xiii., p. 17 Dublin, 1784.

(4) Aubreys "Miscellanies," p. 147.

Whorls when found by the peasantry of Ulster are called fairy mill-stones.

farmers in a running stream and the murrain-infected cattle drink lower down. For an account of the wonderful amulet known as the Lee Penny, see the preface to "The Talisman," by Sir Walter Scott.

Among other stony amulets potent against the spells of witchcraft and the influence of the evil eye are the joints of the fossil encrinite called Sir Cuthbert's beads, and the pholas pierced globose zoophytes known as fairy or adder beads.

In the "Council Book of the Corporation of Cork," 25th November, 1618, the following entry concerning one of these talismans is recorded, in which it appears that the Corporation, acting as its custodian, for some unexplained reason placed it in pledge, with the condition that at certain times it should be produced for inspection; but this proviso not having been complied with by one David Pawnych, its mortgagee, the Council were compelled to have its value appraised, and it is probable that it did not again come into their custody, because Windele, in a paper published immediately after his death, on "Irish Medical Superstition" ("Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society," vol. v., new series, 1864-66), illustrates it as being then preserved by a branch of the Morgan family residing near Cork, to whom it was known as the "blood stone," and was traditionally believed to have been brought to Ireland from abroad by a former member of the family. It was regarded as efficacious in stopping the effusion of blood when suspended round the neck of persons so affected. In like manner the smaller stones were reputed to possess healing virtues distinct from the larger, and applicable to the cure of cattle. Here is the minute from the "Council Book":—"Adam Gould did produce in court, three several Mondaies, a silver jewell. In the midst thereof there was a darkish stone of aroime (sic) set and embroidered about with red stones, four of them three-square and eight four-square, which jewell was pawned unto him about a year and a day past, by one David Pawnych fzPatrick, for 40s., and as said David appeared not, being solemnly called in court three several Mondaies, the praisement of the said jewell was referred to Moris Gold fzJohn, merchant, and Richard Gold, goldsmith, who have returned the same jewell is worth 30s. ster."

In this paper Windele also figures another amulet in the ancient family of the MacCarthy of 'the Glen, a branch of the princely house of Muskerry, Lords of Blarney, then represented by John McCarthy O'Leary, Esq., of Coomlegane, near Millstreet, county Cork. This was believed to be possessed with healing qualities. It was of crystal, oval in form, and set in silver, with a ring for suspension. On April

15, 1840, its possession became the subject of a lawsuit at the police office, Cork, before Alderman Saunders, on a summons to show cause why a felony information should not be taken against a man named Cornelius Sheehan for unlawfully possessing himself of and detaining a murrain stone, the property of Mrs. McAuliffe, otherwise Meares, residing at Kyrils Quay, who claimed descent from the MacCarthys. In evidence it was sworn that MacCarthy More, King of Cork, when hunting one day was given this stone by one of the "good people," and that it had the virtue of curing cattle when sick, the sign of the cross being made with it on the animal's back on three successive mornings while fasting. The stone had been lent and the miracle of curing performed, when it was sent home by a boy, who mistook Mrs. McAuliffe's house and gave it to one Con Sheehan, who refused to return it, and would give the rightful owner no satisfaction, although told if he continued to retain it "he would thaw like ice." However, even this had not the desired effect, and the case was dismissed, the court having "no jurisdiction." The ancient family to whom this murrain stone originally belonged is fortunate in the possession of another, which has been treasured as an heirloom at Coomlegane for quite 400 years, during which time it was in frequent use among the farmers of Cork and Kerry as a medicinal cure for the murrain and other ailments to which cattle are liable. When so lent a formal receipt was given, which was signed by two responsible sureties, by whom it was afterwards restored to the owner. To effect the cure the stone was placed in a vessel of water, or in a stream immediately above where cattle drank, as it was believed that from the hidden virtues possessed by the stone, water in which it was placed became impregnated with its healing powers.

This highly interesting object is composed of a central stone set in a silver-gilt oval frame, with seven projecting rosettes, two having settings of carbuncle, which are wanting in the remaining five. These were probably lost by the farmers in the rough treatment to which the amulet was subjected. The stone, like others from the county Cork, is of reddish brown polished agate, striated with veins of a lighter shade. It forms the central object in a rayed vesica, surrounded by an engrailed border from which the jewelled bosses spring. The collets in all these spaces are hammered up, so as partly to hide the setting, which was the fashion in Queen Mary's reign. The reverse shews the back of the stone through a space formed by a cruciform opening in the metal, the surface of which is engraved with a floriated device terminating in each of the seven projections with fleur-de-lys. It has a ring for suspension,

and was probably worn as a pendant neck ornament possibly to avert the baneful influence of the evil eye. Our Society is much indebted to Mr. MacCarthy O'Leary for so kindly lending this family heirloom for publication. See illustrations I., II.

In the "Journal of the R.S.A.I." for 1875,⁽⁵⁾ a coloured illustration will be found of the Imokilly Amulet, which has been from time immemorial in the family of the Fitzgeralds, Seneschals of Imokilly, and as the murrain stone was well known to the farmers of Castlemartyr, Killeagh and Youghal, who still avail of it as a cure in cattle disease. It had also the dual charm of curing hydrophobia in the human subject. It consists of a polished ball of dark reddish-brown brecciated or banded agate, spherical in shape, weighing 5 oz., and measuring 1 13-16 inch in diameter, pierced through the centre, which is of a red colour, clouded and streaked with white

"Concentric lines that fade away."

Bearing a close resemblance to No. 4 in Windele's paper (which was the cause of legal proceedings in 1840) is another of agate from the county Cork in the writer's collection. It is of reddish colour, beautifully striated, and closely resembling the Imokilly Amulet in its variegated colouring. It is longitudinally pierced in the centre for the reception of a gold bar that passes through it, having a gold ring at the upper end, and at the lower extremity a rosette of six projections that cover the orifice. It is one and a quarter inches long, and was, in 1870, purchased from a Cork dealer, who either did not know, or did not wish to say from whose family he obtained it, but it was sold as a magical stone for the cure of cattle disease, and no doubt was used for that purpose. See illustration III.

An amulet of amber incised with talismanic characters was found in the county Limerick and sold by James Graves, a Cork jeweller, to Lord Londesborough in 1850. It is figured in the "Kilkenny Journal," and was evidently a charm worn on the person. This beautiful substance was always much prized for talismanic purposes. Many years ago the writer acquired in Galway a silver crucifix set in a block of opaque amber, to which it was secured by silver rivets: possibly it was so used for its property of attracting light objects when excited by friction, and thus illustrating the attractive influence of the Redeemer's Cross.

(5) Vol. iii., fourth series, p. 440.

The belief in the virtue of these murrain stones is so general and widespread among the peasantry, and their successful use in sickness must have been evident, and attended with marked success, otherwise the faith in their curative properties would soon have been dispelled and the medicinal virtues of the stones forgotten. Therefore the fact of one of these having been in use for four hundred years is strong presumptive evidence that the unbroken belief and abiding faith in their reality and potency must have been continued, confirmed and strengthened by the cures which, through faith in their agency, were effected. ⁽⁶⁾ For a recent reference to these healing stones, see "A Social History of Ancient Ireland," vol. i., p. 628, Longmans, London, 1903, by P. W. Joyce, LL.D.

⁽⁶⁾ Longmans, London, 1903.

Two Notable Self-exiled Corkmen.

I.

THE REV. WILLIAM ANDERSON O'CONOR.

BY THE REV. J. B. MCGOVERN.



EITHER last nor least amongst the many sons of Cork who have shed the lustre of their genius over the city of their birth was the subject of this brief biographical sketch.

In the year 1820 about midway between the battle of Waterloo and the passing of Catholic Emancipation, William Anderson O'Connor was born in the city of Cork. Of his boyhood and youth I unfortunately possess no details; but I find that he entered Trinity College, Dublin, on the 15th of October, 1847 (at which time he spelt his name O'Connor, which he afterwards altered to O'Connor, following the lead, he said, of The O'Connor Don, whom he recognised as the head of his sept); and that he did not take his B.A. degree until the year 1864. He is said to have been Latin Lecturer at St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead, in whose Calendar for 1893 "W. H. O'Connor" is chronicled as having entered



THE REV. WILLIAM ANDERSON O'CONOR.

in 1853, the "H" being evidently a misprint. Of his clerical career from that year we have the following details, as copied from Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1885, at which time the Rev. Mr. O'Connor resided at 124 Upper Brook Street, Manchester; ordained deacon 1853, and priest in 1854, by the Bishop of Chester; Curate of St. Nicholas', Liverpool, 1853; St. Thomas's, Liverpool, 1854; St. Michael and St. Olave's, Chester, 1855-8; and, finally, Rector of St. Simon and St. Jude's, in the City and Diocese of Manchester, from 1858.

Mr. O'Connor soon became renowned in his adopted city by his marked originality both in pulpit and on platform. "He had not been long in Manchester" (wrote "Momus," a local journal now defunct), "before it began to be known among those interested in church matters that an eloquent preacher was amongst us, and it was, we believe, through the columns of the now defunct "Sphinx" that this fact was first made known to the general public. The writer of a series of articles on "Manchester Churches and Preachers," the late Mr. William Fletcher, assigned Mr. O'Connor a high place, indeed the highest we believe, amongst Manchester preachers; and from the article he wrote on him in 1871 is taken the following extract:—"The tall, commanding figure of Mr. O'Connor, draped in the surplice, is admirably fitted for the position (the lectern) he chooses for preaching. The text read with the aid of the double movable eyeglass, the preacher with brooding, meditative face begins with a few hesitating words, as if he were casting about for those most suitable with which to introduce the subject, in that particular branch of it which he wished to make the primary object of his teaching for the time being, and to give the first impressions of it without affording the smallest ground for misconstruction. If there has been an erroneous translation of the passage as in the original, or a partial or incomplete rendering of it in the Authorized Version, he then shows by authorities, by collating parallel or similar passages of Scripture, how the passage ought to run; and instead of flinging a few Greek words over the heads of an unlettered audience, he explains clearly the reasons in favour of his version, if it should happen to be necessary, and how the passage as it stands is inconsistent with the context; and what misapprehension and false teaching have arisen and been gathered from it by well-intentioned and enthusiastic, but unfortunately ignorant persons. Towards the close the preacher closes the book; and with one hand resting on it he gives in glowing but simple words the plain lesson to be learned from the subject. Mr. O'Connor draws at will from the rich stores of Biblical learning; and his elo-

quence—we are at a loss for words to describe it. We state but the simple fact, when we say that on every ground Mr. O'Connor is, as a preacher, at present without a rival in Manchester."

"St. Simon and St. Jude's," wrote the "City News," was not the kind of place best suited to his powers; and although he gave unremitting attention to the work of the Church and parish, it was always felt by his friends that in some other district he would have had greater scope for the exercise of his great learning and abilities. The church in Granby Row is situated in the midst of a working-class and shop-keeping population, who are not likely to appreciate, and, as a matter of fact, were not attracted by the scholarly, refined, and often subtle sermons of Mr. O'Connor. It is to be regretted that the Church authorities did not find for him a more congenial sphere. It is almost needless to say that in late years, when his great intellectual abilities became more generally known, many strangers to the parish were attracted to Granby Row. They came from all parts of the city and suburbs."

Ten years after becoming a Manchester Rector, he stepped out boldly into the theological arena as a writer; and volume after volume fell rapidly from his pen as follows:—"Faith and Works," 1868; "The Truth and the Church," 1869; "A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans," 1871; "The Epistle to the Hebrews," 1872; "The Gospel of St. John Newly Translated," 1874; and "Commentary on Galatians," 1876.

These works were most favourably reviewed by such high authorities as "The Spectator," "The British Quarterly Review," and "The Evangelical Magazine," and also by the local press.

In the same year in which his last theological product saw the light Mr. O'Connor struck out a new pathway for himself with his facile pen. He had joined the Manchester Literary Club the year before, and his first paper was a masterly essay on Browning's "Childe Roland," after which he contributed during his ten years of membership the following proofs of his marvellous versatility:—In 1877 two papers—"Shakespeare's Hamlet," and "Tennyson's Palace of Art"; 1878, "The Book of Job," and "Wit and Humour"; 1879, "On Proverbs"; 1880, "The Prometheus Vincit of Aeschylus"; 1881, "The Relation of Religion to Literature," "The Prometheus of Aeschylus and Shelley," and "Morals and Art"; 1882, "From Lancashire to Land's End," and "Miss Jesse Fothergill as a Novelist"; 1883, "Force of Character"; 1884, "Swiss Notes," and "On Fables"; 1885, "Passages from an Italian Notebook"; 1886, "Italian Impressions," and "On Ghost

Stories," and "Religion and the Intellect." Each of these papers—all of which appeared in the "Manchester Quarterly Magazine"—is stamped with the hallmark of genius; and eight of them were reprinted in bookform, under the editorship of Mr. W. E. Axon, in 1889.

In addition to his essays, Mr. O'Connor issued a pamphlet of sixteen pages, in 1885, headed "The Irish Massacre of 1641," which forms a trenchant rejoinder to Miss Hickson's bulky book on the same subject. But his "Opus Magnum" was undoubtedly his "History of the Irish People," the evolution from a pamphlet in 1876 into two goodly volumes published in 1882, dedicated to Professor F. W. Newman. This book is a philosophical digest of events in Ireland from the earliest times to the period when he wrote it. His treatment of Irish grievances, real and imaginary, is at once masterly and unbiassed; festering sores and fancied wrongs receive equal justice at his hands. Froude's harangue on Irish indolence is divested of its false reasoning in eloquent and scathing terms; whilst his estimate of English feeling towards the sister Isle is both dignified and accurate; and both Macaulay and Carlyle are subjected to severe and well-merited castigation.

In the course of a lengthy notice of this "History" by the Rev. Henry Stuart Fagan (a brother Anglican rector), of Great Cressingham, now also deceased, which appeared in the "Manchester Guardian," a few days after Mr. O'Connor's death, he says: "I know not which most to admire in Mr. O'Connor, the bursts of chastened eloquence like that in which he describes O'Connell, and that in which he speaks of the old Irish Saints; or the incisive words in which he enforces some half-forgotten truth. . . . Everyone should read his estimate of O'Connell. . . . Like all great writers, Mr. O'Connor speaks by his silence no less than by his words; he impresses us as few historians do with the feeling of power in reserve. . . . It belongs to the irony of fate that such a man should be taken away at the very time when attention has been once again called to Irish history as the only means of understanding Irish politics. His book remains, though he will have no earthly fruit of his labours. A better book for a library I cannot imagine than that his zeal to complete which literally consumed him. He believed in the Irish people, not in this or that portion of them. We who are left have to try to make that people worthier of the immense faith which breathes through his every page."

On one point only in connection with his "History" was I led to differ from him, which I ventilated in an article in "Notes and Queries," London (6th XI. 242), March 28th, 1885, headed "Ireland's Last Ard-

Righ." Mr. O'Connor held that Felim and not Roderick O'Connor was the last monarch of all Ireland; while I advocated the claims of the latter to the title. My lamented friend's reply appeared in the number for the 6th of May following, and was, so far as I know, his sole contribution to "Notes and Queries."

In person Mr. O'Connor was tall, and with the air of an ascetic or prophet of old, in which intellectuality and kindness were blended; he looked every inch the worthy 'descendant of a long line of kings. His character was marked by a rare combination of gifts. He was witty and humorous, paradoxical and pathetic, as the occasion demanded. Few could point an epigram or launch shafts of satire better than he: yet he was sparing in these latter, and was gentleness and kindness personified. "He had," says one writer, "a strong vein of genius in his composition. As befitted one of the Celtic race, he had wit in overflowing abundance. But he was also a humorist, a very rare combination. Fiery in his indignation against wrongs or oppression or falsity of any kind, he was in all the private relations of life one of the gentlest and kindest of men."

His "History" killed him; it brought on paralysis; and he died at Torquay on the 22nd March, 1887, in which place he was buried. Let me close this brief monograph in Mr. Axon's glowing words:—

"He is now at peace, not in the Green West, the land of his forefathers, nor in the dark and stormy North, where he had many sorrows and many consolations; but far away, upon our southern coast, stilled by the ceaseless music of the waves, beneath clear and lofty skies, and bathed by warm sunshine. Those skies are not clearer than was his intellect, nor loftier than his soul; and the sunshine is not warmer than was his loving heart."

II.

JOHN P. LEONARD.

Mr. J. P. Leonard was in his day the best known Irishman that had made his home in "la belle France." Though a naturalised Frenchman, he never ceased to be an Irishman in heart and soul; and all the best efforts of his life, outside the ordinary duties of his profession, were devoted to advancing the interests of his much-loved native country.

In a letter he wrote to the newspapers on the 3rd of January, 1889, denying that he was any way related to Maurice Leonard, agent for Lord Kenmare, he states: "I beg to say that my last relative was the



JOHN P. LEONARD.

late Maurice Leonard, of Ringaskiddy, one of the best men I ever knew. I was born at Spike Island. My father's brother was the late Mr. P. J. Leonard, who assisted in founding the Christian Schools in Cork, and who was a second father to me until his death in 1831. My father died in Paris when I was four years old, while on his way to the South of France for the benefit of his health. Placed as a student at the college of Boulogne-sur-mer in 1829 by my uncle,^(*) I had to return to Ireland the following year, owing to his illness. Early in 1834, I returned to France, where I have been since a voluntary exile. In many short visits to my native country, that I never cease to love and serve in a very humble way, I learned to love my fellow-countrymen more and more, and to take the greatest interest in their cause and in their wrongs and sufferings; and I believe I may say with my old friend, the national poet of France, Beranger:

"Je n'ai flatté que l'infortuné."

The last member of my family, I beg to say I know nothing of my namesake."

Mr. Leonard was born in the year 1812, as he was 77 years old at his death, which took place on the 6th of August, 1889, at his residence, 104 Avenue de Villiers, Paris.

In this latter city he studied medicine in his early days there, and made himself so far master of that profession that he was quite conversant with hospital practice, and was no mean authority on medical matters generally. He did not, however, take out a degree; and the greater part of his life in Paris was spent as a teacher of English.

He was Professor of English at the College Chaptal, the great Municipal College of Paris, which is affiliated with the French University. Besides his duties as professor, he gave private lessons; and in the exercise of this calling was brought into intimate intercourse with many

(*) In the Christian Brothers' cemetery, where lie the remains of the famous Gerald Griffin, are likewise the graves of the Brothers Leonard, the uncles of Mr. John P. Leonard. Brother John B. Leonard, familiarly called "Mr. John" by those who knew him, is stated in the inscription to have been "an ardent lover of God, and of His poor"; while in the inscription on Brother Joseph Leonard's tombstone we read that "by his exertions chiefly the monastery and schools in Peacock Lane were erected." Brother John Leonard died September 5th, 1858, aged 73 years; and Brother Joseph on March 7th, 1831, aged 48 years. To these Brothers Leonard belong the honour of founding the Irish Christian Brothers in Cork, if not in Ireland. They taught school in School Lane, near the cathedral, and just at the time when Mr. Rice, of Waterford, was exerting his means for the education of the children of the poor, the Brothers Leonard were working towards the same end in the city of Cork.

people of the highest rank and position in French society, political as well as literary. Many of these became his cordial and sincere friends; and through them during the course of his long life he was often able to exercise very powerful influence—an influence which was almost invariably used for the advantage of others rather than for his own personal benefit. Amongst those was Marshal MacMahon, and his wife, the amiable Duchess of Magenta.

Mr. Leonard was in politics, so far as Ireland was concerned, a strong Nationalist, though not attached to any particular section of Irish politicians. He was hand and glove with nearly all the leaders of '48; and all of them, notably Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, cherished his friendship to the last. He was always ready to give such aid as lay in his power to anything that would help to raise the country of his birth or advance its interests.

A conspicuous example of his deep sympathy for his countrymen in distress was afforded in 1861 in connection with the condition of Cape Clear, one of the localities then severely scourged by famine. One consequence of that distress was the utter destruction of the fishing gear, which left the population in a state bordering on starvation. Mr. Leonard enlisted in their case the sympathies of some of the most prominent men and women in France; he induced the illustrious Bishop of Orleans, Mgr. Dupanloup, to preach a charity sermon on behalf of the distress in Cape Clear, and the Duchess of Magenta furnished him largely with the means of getting up a bazaar, the proceeds of which went to their relief. The results of his efforts were very valuable, and helped to avert from the islanders the worst disasters until the direct intervention of the charity of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts finally saved them from further suffering.

The period of the Franco-Prussian war was one that brought Mr. Leonard's qualities into strong relief. Debarred by age from taking an active part in the defence of France, he threw himself eagerly into the cause by devoting himself to the aid of the sick and wounded. Considerable sums of money subscribed by the population of the South of Ireland through the "Cork Examiner" in grateful remembrance of the charitable efforts of the French in regard to Cape Clear, were placed at his disposal; and furnished with supplies of provisions, medicine, and other such useful commodities he followed the French armies into the field, and was a participator in some of the most desperate misfortunes that befell the French. His medical and surgical knowledge came largely to his aid in his attendance on the wounded; and in his

brave devotion to this self-imposed duty, he was a witness of some of the bloodiest battles, and shared in some of the most deadly perils of that unlucky war.

His services were so thoroughly appreciated by the French Government of that day that he received as a mark of recognition the ribbon of the Military Legion of Honour. In addition to this official recognition, those who were most interested in French political affairs testified their gratitude in many other ways for his enthusiasm in the French cause, and the great benefits he had conferred on the wounded soldiers of France.

One of the most interesting incidents of his connection with the French army during the war was that he was in close attendance upon Marshal MacMahon when the latter was disabled by the wounds he received outside Sedan. This brought him into close relations with the Marshal and his amiable and spirited wife, which lasted during the great soldier's career as French President, and were never interrupted up to the day of Mr. Leonard's death. It was in this way that Mr. Leonard, with a Colonel Scott, came on a mission to Ireland in 1869 to raise an Irish colony for Algiers—a project which originated with Marshal MacMahon himself, but in the sequel proved a deplorable failure.

Subsequently to the war, Mr. Leonard applied himself with particular zeal to the promotion of Irish industries. He was an ardent advocate of direct steam communication between Cork and France, as a project calculated to promote the commercial prosperity of Ireland (and would be even if now carried out).

During the Paris Exhibition of 1878 he constituted himself a volunteer agent for Irish exhibitors, and day after day during the whole duration of that Exhibition he passed in the building endeavouring to secure for the Irish industries exhibited there the sympathetic admiration and practical interest of foreigners. In the succeeding Exhibition of 1889 Irish industries were not so fully represented, but a casual Irish visitor to it caught sight of Mr. Leonard there one day in the act of drawing French people up to a compartment in which Irish linen was being exhibited.

His anxiety to serve Ireland in some way was a feeling ever uppermost in his mind. His heart was sincere and generous to a fault; he loved his countrymen with an ardour that could not have been surpassed had his whole life been spent in Ireland. The great object of his ambition was to serve them in some shape or other, and it would be no exaggeration to say that the interests of his country, his country-

men and countrywomen were always more prominent in his thoughts than any interest or advantage of his own.

He died in France, which he loved warmly and sincerely, and with the spirit of whose people he was thoroughly in accord; but the strongest affections of his nature were twined round the old land which he had quitted when a boy and never for a moment had forgotten throughout the years of his long and honourable life; and his dying wish was to be buried in Ireland.

This wish was happily gratified, mainly through the efforts of Mr. Charles G. Doran, of Queenstown, an old friend of Mr. Leonard's, who superintended the removal of his remains from Paris, via London, to Cork, where the coffin on its arrival, October 28, 1889, was for a time deposited in the Presentation Brothers' College, Western Road. That same day a magnificent funeral procession accompanied the remains thence to Albert Quay, where they were placed on board the Harbour Commissioners' steamer, "The Commissioner," which took them on to Queenstown, and thence by road to the burial ground at Ballymore.

No suitable stone marks Mr. Leonard's grave so far at Ballymore; but it can be easily recognised by the very tall square headstone erected to the memory of a namesake and a relative in whose grave his ashes now lie.

Mr. Leonard was an officer of the French Academy, and the translator of (Cardinal) Perraud's "Ireland Under British Rule," published by James Duffy and Co., Dublin, a valuable work still in print; and he was also the author of a little book, "Dillon's Irish Military Officers in the Service of France," published by the same Dublin firm. The firm of Ward and Downey, London, advertised "Fifty Years' Recollections of France," by J. P. Leonard; but this work was never published. Mr. Leonard left an only child, a daughter, who is married and living in London.⁽²⁾

CN.

(2) The accompanying portrait of Mr. Leonard is due to the kind courtesy of Dr. Charles Ronayne, of Youghal, an old friend of his, who also received a decoration from the French Government for his services during the Franco-German war.



BALLINDANGAN GALLAUN—WEST SIDE.
(Photographed by Mr. Irwin.)

A Gallaun near Ballindangan, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork.

BY COURTENAY MOORE, CANON, M.A., COUNCIL MEMBER.



SOME months ago a Corporal Oscroft of the Royal Engineers, who was engaged in survey work in this district, told me of the existence of this Gallaun. I went on Saturday, July the 16th, to find it out. Stopping at the level-crossing of Ballindangan, on the Mitchelstown and Fermoy railway, I asked an old woman at the gate-house about it; but whether it was owing to her deafness or ignorance, she could give me no information. However, help was at hand, a bright, intelligent girl, just entered on her 'teens, who overheard the conversation, and who answered to the name of Mary Kate, came forward and said she knew the stone and the way to it. Under her guidance, I started off, and in about seven minutes we reached the place. The Gallaun is a remarkable one, standing by itself in a field near the railway line. It is a monolith, ten feet nine inches in height, and five feet in superficial breadth; it is greatly scored and fissured, doubtless by atmospheric influences and ice-action, but I could not see any human inscription on it of any kind. There is a small elder tree growing out of a cavity near the top. The Gallaun is out of the perpendicular, probably owing to some yielding of the earth at the base, and inclines at an angle, roughly speaking, of some 12 or 20 degrees. It would be a great pity if this inclination increased and that the stone should eventually fall. On returning to the gate-lodge at the level crossing, I made some further enquiries, and by this time Mary Kate, my guide, was recognised by all and sundry as the proper authority. She said the Gallaun was in the townland of Kilnadrow. "Spill it for him, Mary Kate, spill it for the gentleman," said her old grandmother. Mary Kate accordingly "spilt" it. I afterwards inquired at the police barracks in Mitchelstown about the exact site of the stone, but it had never been heard of; when I described the field in which it stands, the constable on duty consulted the large local map, and said it was in the townland of Nutgrove, not Kilnadrow. At all events,

this remarkable Gallaun is close to the level-crossing of Ballindangan, near Ballindangan station, on the Mitchelstown and Fermoy railway.

So far as I know, this monolith has not as yet been catalogued. There is no reference to it in Wakeman's "Hand-book of Irish Antiquities."

This monolith is apparently a conglomerate with a limestone basis; and was probably torn from its natural bed by ice-action and deposited where it now is. For a similar specimen, see Wakeman's hand-book, page 16. The thickness of the stone is about one foot six inches. How much of it is under ground I have no definite idea; judging from the inclination, there is probably not very much. An old woman, who lives in the locality, informed me that a number of years ago, a man was ploughing up the field in which the Gallaun stands, the plough struck against a large flat stone, which he raised, and found under it an earthen urn containing some human bones. He replaced the urn, covered it up, and it has never been disturbed nor re-discovered since. I mention this story for what it may be worth. At all events, the existence of the Ballindangan Gallaun is worth recording as a remarkable specimen of its class of pre-historic antiquities.

In former days there were probably more of these Gallauns in this district, for a neighbouring townland is called Kilgullane, i.e., "the church of the pillar-stone."

Cork Sign Boards.

ON going over a file of the "Cork Evening Post" for 1760 I noted in the advertisements the following references to the signs by which the places of business were then distinguished. The numbering of houses had not yet been adopted, and these painted signs, some of which hung and grated in the breeze, or collected water in the storm which descended on the unlucky pedestrian, for whom no umbrella had as yet been invented. These signs, with their massive iron frameworks, as they grew old grew dangerous; they would rot and fall, and when this did not occur they made night hideous with the groans of the rusty hinges. On the other hand, they made work for the artist, and added picturesqueness to the narrow streets.

Mary Woulfe, at "The Sign of the Three Kings," in the Main Street, near the Exchange, Cork.⁽¹⁾

Samuel, George, and Joseph Beale, at "The Sign of the Golden Key," in Meeting-house Lane, oil and colour men, etc., etc.

Thomas Fuller, Junr., in Barrack Street, who is married to the sister of James Purcell, woollen draper, deceased, who lived at "The Sign of the Harp and Crown," near the Exchange, Cork.

Edward Cooke, woollen draper, at the "Lamb and Rising Sun," in Castle Street, Cork.

Joseph Harmon, woollen draper and manufacturer, hath lately opened shop at the sign of the "Naked Man and Wool Pack," just inside North Gate, Cork.

Isaac Mee, "The Phoenix Head," next house to the "Sign of the Three Nuns" on Hammond's Marsh, dye stuffs and colour merchant.

"The Swan" livery yard, out of South Gate.

Elizabeth Lewis, hosier, at "The Blue Legg Board," in Paul's Street.

Peter Collins, at "The Spinning Wheel and Shuttle," near the Exchange, Cork, manufacturers of all sorts of linen and cotton checks.

Edward Barrett, woollen draper, at the "Three Anchors and Crown," near North Gate.

At "The Hand and Pen," opposite Tuckey's Lane, are taught writing, etc., by Thomas Power, who cautions the Publick against a herd of ignorant pretenders to the famous art of writing, who have overrun the City, to the ruin of every ingenious Youth, who has the misfortune to be put under their care.

"The Blue Anchor," Charles Baker, outside South Gate, Cork.

"The Bull's Head," John Fowlue, taylor, near South Gate, Cork.

Robert Forsayeth, linen draper, at the "Seven Stars," on the Quay, between Fishamble Lane and the Red-house Walk.

William Knapp, son of the late John Knapp, of this City, clock and watch maker, who served an apprenticeship to Mr. James Aicken, has opened shop at "The Sign of the Dial," near Broad Lane, Main Street, where he makes and mends all sorts of clocks and watches on the most reasonable terms. March 10, 1760.

Jeremiah Sheehan, gardener and seedsman, adjoining "The Gibraltar Tavern," near the Main Guard, Barrack Street, Cork.

(*) The legend of the three Kings of Cologne is one of the most popular of the numerous stories accepted by the Christian world in the middle ages. They were supposed to be the Wise Men (according to the legend, three Kings of Arabia) who made offerings to our Saviour, and whose bodies travelled first to Constantinople, thence to Milan, and lastly to Cologne by various removals. Their names were Jassper, Melchior, Baltazar. See a sketch of their history in Brown's "Vulgar Errors," vii., viii., p. 379. Also as to their names as a charm, "Gentleman's Magazine," February, 1749, xix., p. 88.

R. D.

Trial of Florence Newton for Witchcraft in Cork, 1661.

Contributed by JAMES F. FULLER, F.S.A.

THE full title of pamphlet is as follows:—THE TRYALS OF FLORENCE NEWTON, A FAMOUS IRISH WITCH, AT THE ASSIZES HELD AT CORK, ANNO 1661; AS ALSO OF TWO WITCHES AT THE ASSIZES HELD AT BURY ST. EDMUND'S, IN SUFFOLK, BEFORE SIR MATHEW HALE; WHO WERE FOUND GUILTY AND EXECUTED. I have confined myself to the Cork case. There is a manuscript endorsement on the pamphlet: "*A very curious and scarce tract.*" In the body of it there are "*observations*" showing where the facts (so called) in Florence Newton's case correspond with those in the other cases tried by Sir Mathew Hale. I hope that some reader or readers of this *Journal* will be able to identify some if not all of the natives of Youghall mentioned in this extraordinary case, and who were instrumental in doing to death this unfortunate old woman.

J. F. FULLER.



FLORENCE NEWTON⁽¹⁾ was committed to Youghall Prison by the Mayor of the Town, March 24, 1661, for bewitching Mary Langdon, who gave evidence against her as follows:—

Mary Langdon being sworn and examined what she could say against the said Florence Newton for any Practice of Witchcraft on herself; and being bid to look on the Prisoner her Countenance changed very pale, and she was afraid to look towards her; but at last she did. Being asked whether she knew her? she said *she did and wished she never had*. Being asked how long she had known her? she said for three or four years, and that at Christmas last the said Florence came to the Deponent, at the house of John Pyne,⁽²⁾ of Youghall, where the Deponent was a Servant and asked her to give her a Piece of Beef out of the Powdering-Tub. And the Deponent answering her she could not give away her Master's Beef, the said Florence seemed to be angry and said *Thou hadst as good have given it to me*; and so went away grumbling. That about a week after, this Deponent going to the Water with a Pail of Clothes on her Head, she met the said Florence Newton, who came full in her Face and threw the Pail off her Head, and violently kissed her, saying, *Mary, I pray thee let thee and I be Friends; for I bear thee no ill Will, and I pray thee do thou bear me none*. And that she the Deponent went afterwards Home, and that within a few Days after, she saw a Woman with a Vail over her Face standing by her Bed Side, and one standing by her like a little old

Man in Silk Clothes; and that this Man, which she took to be a Spirit, drew the Vail from the old Woman's Face, and then she knew it to be Goody Newton; and that the Spirit spoke to this Deponent, and would have her promise him to follow his Advice, and she should have all Things after her own Heart. To which she answered, *That she should have nothing to say to him, but put her trust in the Lord.* That within a Month after the said Florence had kissed her, she this Deponent fell very ill of Fits and Trances, which would take her on the Sudden in that Violence that three or four Men could not hold her; and in her Fits she would often be taken with Vomitings, and would vomit up Needles, Pins, Horse-Nails, Stubbs, Wool, and Straw. And being asked whether she perceived at these times what she vomited? She said *She did; for she was not then in so great a Distraction, as in other Parts of her Fits she was.* And that a little before the first Beginnings of her Fits several (and very many small) Stones would fall upon her as she went up and down and would follow her from Place to Place, and from one Room to another, and would hit her on the Head, Shoulders, and Arms, and fall to the Ground and vanish away. And that she and several others would see them both fall upon her and on the Ground, but could never take them save only some few, which she and her Master caught in their Hands. Amongst which one that had a Hole in it she tyed (as she was advised) with a Leather Thong to her Purse, but it vanished immediately though the Leather continued tyed on a fast Knot. That in her Fits she often saw this Florence Newton, and cried out against her for tormenting; for she says that she would several times stick Pins into her Arms, and some of them so fast that a Man must pluck three or four Times to get out the Pin, and they were stuck between the Skin and the Flesh. That sometimes she should be carryed to the Top of the House, and laid on a Board betwixt two solar Beams;⁽³⁾ sometimes put into a Chest, sometimes she should be removed out of the Bed into another Room, sometimes under a Parcel of Wool, sometimes between two Feather Beds on which she used to lie, and sometimes betwixt the Bed and the Mat in her Master's Chamber in the Day-time. Being asked how she knew she was thus carryed about and disposed of, seeing in her Fits she was in a violent Distraction, she answered *She never knew where she was till they of the Family, and the Neighbours with them, would be taking her out of the Places whither she was so carryed and removed.* And being asked the Reason why she cried out so much against Florence Newton in her Fits? she answered *Because she saw and felt her Torturing.* And being asked how she could think it was Florence Newton that did her this Prejudice, she said, first, *Because she threatened her;* then because *after she had kissed her she fell into these Fits,* and that she both saw and felt her tormenting. And, lastly, that when the People of the

Family, by Advice of the Neighbours and Consent of the Mayor, had sent for Florence Newton to come to the Deponent, she was always worse when she was brought to her, and her Fits more violent than at another time. And that after the said Florence was committed at Youghall the Deponent was not troubled, but was very well till a little while after the said Florence was removed to Cork, and then the Deponent was as ill as ever before. And the Mayor of Youghall, one Mr. Myres,⁽⁴⁾ then sent to know whether the said Florence were bolted (as the Deponent was told), and finding she was not, Orders were given to put the Bolts on her; which being done, the Deponent saith she was well again, and so hath continued ever since. And being asked whether she had such like Fits before the said Florence gave her the kiss, she saith she never had any, but believes that with the kiss she bewitched her. And the rather because she hath heard from Nicholas Pyne and others that the said Florence hath confessed so much.

This Mary Langdon having closed up her Evidence, Florence Newton peeped at her, as it were, between the Heads of the By-standers that interposed between her and the said Mary, and lifting up both her Hands together as they were manacled cast them in an angry, violent kind of Motion (as was seen and observed by W. Aston) towards the said Mary, as if she intended to strike her if she could reach her, and said *Now she is down*. Upon which the Maid fell suddenly to the Ground like a Stone, and fell into a most violent Fit that all the People that could come to lay Hands on her could scarce hold her, she biting her own Arms and shrieking out in a most hideous Manner to the Amazement of all the Beholders And continuing so for about a Quarter of an Hour (the said Florence Newton sitting by herself all that while, pinching her own Hands and Arms, as was sworn by some that observed her), the Maid was ordered to be carried out of the Court and taken into an House; whence several persons after that brought Word that the Maid was in a vomiting Fit, and they brought in several crooked Pins and Straws and Wool in white Foam like Spittle in great abundance; Whereupon the Court having taken Notice that the Maid had said she had been very well when the said Florence had been in Bolts, demanded of the Gaoler if she were in Bolts or no; to which he said she was not, but only manacled. Upon which Order was given to put on her Bolts; and upon putting them on she cried out she was killed, she was undone, she was spoyled; why do you torment me thus? and so continued complaining grievously for about Half a Quarter of an Hour; and then came in a Messenger from the Maid and informed the Court the Maid was well. At which Florence immediately and cholerickly uttered these words, *She is not well yet*. And being demanded how she knew she was not well, she denied she said so, though many in Court heard her say the words. And

she said if she did she knew not what she said being old and distracted with her Sufferings. But the Maid being reasonably well come to herself, was, before the Court knew anything of it, sent out of the Town to Youghall, and so was no further examined by the Court. This Fit of the Maid being urged by the Court with all the Circumstances of it to have been a Continuance of her Devilish Practice, she denyed it and likewise the Motion of her Hands, or the saying *Now she is down*, though the Court saw the first, and the words were sworn by one Roger Moor. And Thomas Harrison Swore that he had observed the said Florence peep at her and use that Motion with her Hands and saw the Maid fall down immediately upon that Motion, and heard the Words, *Now she is down*, uttered.

Nicholas Stout was next produced by Mr. Attorney-General, who being sworn and examined said, That he had oft tryed her, having heard say that Witches could not say the Lord's Prayer, whether she should say that Prayer or not, and found she could not; whereupon she said she could say it, and had often said it; and the Court being desired by her to hear her say it, gave her Leave; and four times together after these Words, *give us this day our daily Bread*, she continually said *As we forgive them*, leaving out the words *And forgive us our Trespases*, upon which the Court appointed one to teach her these Words she so left out. But she either could not or would not say them, using only these or the like Words, *Aye, aye, Trespases; that's the Word*. And being oft pressed to utter the Words as they were repeated to her, she did not. And being asked the Reason, she said she was old and had a bad Memory; And being asked how her Memory served her so well for other Parts of the Prayer, and only failed her for that, she said she knew not, neither could she help it.

John Pyne being likewise sworn and examined, said that about January last Mary Langdon being his Servant was much troubled with little Stones that were thrown at her wherever she went, and that he had seen them come as if they were thrown at her, others as if they dropped on her; and that he hath seen very great Quantities of them, and that they would after they had hit her fall on the Ground and then vanish, so that none of them could be found. And further That the Maid once caught one of them, and he himself another with a Hole in it, she tyed to her Purse, but it vanished in a little Time, but the Knot of the Leather that tyed it remained unaltered. That after the Stones had thus harmed her she fell into most grievous Fits, wherein she was so violently distracted that four Men would have very much to do to hold her; and that in the greatest of her Extremities she should cry out of Gammer Newton for hunting and tormenting of her. That sometimes the Maid would be reading in a Bible, and on the sudden he hath seen the Bible struck out of her Hand

into the middle of the Room, and she immediately was cast into a violent Fit. That in the Fits he hath seen two Bibles laid on her Breasts and in the twinkling of an eye they would be cast between the two Beds the Maid lay upon, sometimes thrown into the middle of the Room, and that Nicholas Pyne^(s) held the Bible in the Maid's Hand so fast that it being suddenly snatched away, two of the Leaves were torn. That in many Fits the Maid was removed strangely in the Twinkling of an Eye out of the Bed sometimes into the bottom of a Chest with Linnen, and the Linnen not at all disordered, sometimes betwixt the two Beds she lay on, sometimes under a Parcell of Wooll, sometimes between his Bed and the Mat of it in another Room, and once she was laid on a small Deal Board which lay on the Top of an House betwixt two solar Beams, where he was forced to rear up Ladders to have her fetched down. That in her fits she hath often vomited up Wooll, Pins, Horse Nails, Stubs, Straw, Needles, and Moss, with a kind of white Foam or Spittle, and hath several Pins stuck into her Arms and Hands, that sometimes a Man must pull three or four times before he could pull one of them out, and some have stuck between the Flesh and the Skin where they might be perfectly seen, but not taken out, nor any Place seen where they were put in. That when the Witch was brought into the Room where she was she should be in more violent and longer-lasting Fits than at other Times. That all the time the Witch was at Liberty the Maid was ill, and that as soon as she was committed and bolted she recovered and was well; and that when the Witch was removed to Cork the Maid fell ill; and thereupon the Mayor of Youghall sent to see whether she was bolted or no, and to acquaint them the Maid was ill, and desire them if the Witch were not bolted they would bolt her. That she immediately recovered and was as well as ever. And when the Messenger came from Cork and told them the Witch was bolted it fell out to be the very time the Maid amended at Youghall.

Nicholas Pyne being sworn, said that the second Night that the Witch was in Prison, being the 24th of March last, he and Joseph Thompson, Roger Hawkins, and some others went to speak with her concerning the Maid, and told her that it was the general Opinion of the Town that she hath bewitched her, and desired her to deal freely with them whether she had bewitched her or no? She said she had not bewitched her, but it may be she had overlooked her, and that there was a great deal of Difference between bewitching and overlooking, and that she could not have done her any Harm if she had not touched her, and therefore she had kissed her. And she said that what Mischief she had thought upon at that Time she kissed her would fall upon her; and that she would not but confess that she had wronged the Maid, and thereupon fell down upon her knees and prayed God to forgive her wronging the poor Maid.

They wished that she might not be wholly destroyed by her; to which she said it must be another that must help her, and not they that did the Harm. And then she said there were others, as Goody Halfpenny and Goody Dod, in Town that could do these Things as well as she, and that it might be one of them that had done the Maid Wrong. That towards Evening the Door of the Prison shook, and she arose up hastily and said, *What makest thou here at this Time of Night?* And there was a very great Noise as if Somebody with Bolts and Chains had been running up and down the Room. And they asked her what it was she spoke to? and what it was that made the Noise? She said she saw nothing, neither did she speak, and if she did it was she knew not what. But the next Day she confessed it was a Spirit and her Familiar, in the shape of a Greyhound. That he and Mr. Edward Perry and others took a Tile off the Prison next to the Place where the Witch lay, and carried it to the House where the Maid lived, and put it into the fire till it was red hot, and then dropped some of the Maid's Water upon it, and the Witch was then grievously tormented; and when the Water was consumed she was well again. That as to the Stones falling on and cast at the Maid, as to the Maid's Fits, her removal into the Chest, under the Wooll, betwixt the Feather Beds, on the top of the Deal Board, betwixt two solar Beams, concerning the Bibles and their Remove, his holding one of them in the Maid's Hand till two Leaves were torn, concerning the Maid's vomiting, and her calling out against the Witch, he agreeth perfectly throughout with John Pyne as before.

Edward Perry ⁽⁶⁾ being likewise sworn, deposeth That he, Mr. Greatrix, and Mr. Blackwall went to the Maid, and Mr. Greatrix and he had read of a way to discover a Witch which he would put in practice. And so they sent for the Witch, and set her on a Stool, and a Shoemaker with a strong Awl endeavoured to stick it in the Stool, but could not till the third Time, and then they had her come off the Stool, but she said she was very weary, and could not stir. Then two of them pulled her off, and the Man went to pull out his Awl, and it dropped into his hand with half an inch broke off the Blade of it, and they all looked to have found where it had been stuck, but could find no Place where any Entry had been made by it. Then they took another Awl, and put it into the Maid's hand, and one of them took the Maid's hand, and ran violently at the Witche's Hand with it but could not enter it, though the Awl was so bent that none of them could put it straight again. Then Mr. Blackwall, ⁽⁷⁾ took a Launce and launced one of her Hands an Inch and half long and a quarter deep, but it bled not at all; then he launced the other hand and then they bled. That after she was in Prison he went with Roger Hawkins and others to discourse with the Witch about the Maid, and they asked what it was she spoke to the Day before? and after some Denial she said it was a

Greyhound, which was her Familiar, and went out at the Window; and then she said, *If I have done the Maid hurt I am sorry for it.* And being then asked whether she had done the Maid any Hurt? she said she never did bewitch her, but confessed she had overlooked her at the Time she kissed her; but that she could not now help her; for none could help her that did the Mischief, but others. And further the Deponent saith that after the Assize at Cashel he meeting with one William Lap, and discoursing about these Passages with him, the said Lap told the Deponent that if he would but take a Tile off the House near the Place where the Witch lay and heat it red hot in the Fire, and then take some of the Maid's Water and drop it upon it, that so long as this was doing he should find the Witch grievously tormented. That afterwards he Edward Perry, Nicholas Pyne, and others, put this in Practice and found that the Witch was extremely tormented and vexed, and when the Experiment was over she came to herself; and then they asked her how she came to hurt the Maid? and she said, That what Evil she thought against the Maid that Time she kissed her, that would fall upon her; and that she could not have hurt her except she had touched her; and then she fell upon her Knees, and confessed she had wronged the Maid, and desired God to forgive her. And then they put her upon saying the Lord's Prayer, but she could not say the Words *And forgive us our Trespases.*

Mr. Wood,⁽⁸⁾ a Minister, being likewise sworn and examined, deposeth That having heard of the Stones dropped and thrown at the Maid and of her Fits, and meeting with the Maid's Brother, he went along with him to the Maid, and found her in her Fit crying out of Gammer Newton that she pricked her and hurt her. And when she came to herself he asked her what had touched her? and she said Gammer Newton. And the Deponent said, *Why? she was not there.* Yes, said she, *I saw her by my Bedside.* The Deponent then asked her the Original of all, which she related from the Time of her begging the Beef, and after kissing her, and so to that time. That then they caused the Maid to be got up and sent for Florence Newton, but she refused to come, pretending she was sick, though indeed it appeared she was well. Then the Mayor of Youghall came in and spoke with the Maid, and then sent again and caused Florence Newton to be brought in, and immediately the Maid fell into her Fit far more violently and three times as long as at any other time; and all the time the Witch was in the Chamber, the Maid cried out continually of being hurt here and there, but never named the Witch, but as soon as she was removed she cryed out against her by the name of Gammer Newton, and this for several Times. And still when the Witch was out of the Room the Maid would desire to go to Prayers, and he found good Affections in her in the Time of Prayer;

but when the Witch was brought in again, though never so privately, altho she could not possibly, as the Deponent conceives, see her, she would be immediately senseless and like to be strangled, and so would continue till the Witch was taken out; and then, though never so privately carried away, she would come again to her Senses. That afterwards Mr. Greatrex, Mr. Blackwall, and some others, who would needs satisfy themselves in the Influence of the Witche's Presence, tryed it, and found it several times, altho it was done with all possible privacy, and so as none could think it possible for the Maid to know either of the Witche's coming in or going out.

The next Witness at the Tryal was Richard Myres, Mayor of Youghall, who being sworn, saith That about the 24th of March last he sent for Florence Newton and examined her about the Maid, and she at first denied it and accused Goody Halfpenny and Goody Dod, but at length when he hath caused a Boat to be provided and had thought to have tryed the Water experiment on them all three, then Florence Newton confessed that she had overlooked the Maid and done her Wrong with a Kiss; for which she was heartily sorry, and prayed God to forgive her. Then he likewise examined the other two Women, Halfpenny and Dod, but they utterly denied it, and were content to abide any Tryal; whereupon he caused Dod, Halfpenny, and Florence to be carryed to the Maid; and he told her these two Women, or one of them, were said by Gammer Newton to have done her hurt, but she answered *No, no; they are honest Women, but it is Gammer Newton that hurts me, and I believe she is not far off.* That then they brought in Newton privately, and then she fell into a most violent Fit, ready to be strangled till the Witch was removed; and this for three several Times. He farther Deposeth that there were three Aldermen in Youghall whose children she had kissed, as he had heard them affirm, and that all the children died presently after; and as to the sending to Cork to have the Bolts put on, he swears as is formerly deposed.

Joseph Thompson being sworn, said, That he went in March last with Roger Hawkins, Nicholas Pyne, and others, to the Prison to confer with Florence Newton about the Maid, but she would confess nothing that Time; But towards Night there was a noise at the Prison door as if something had shook the Door, and Florence started up and said *What aileth thee to be here at this Time of the Night?* and there was much Noise. And they asked her what she spoke to? and what made the great Noise? But she denied that she spoke or that she knew of any Noise, and said, *If I spoke I said I knew not what.* And they went their ways that Time, and went to her again the next Night and asked her very seriously about the last Night's Passage and the Noise. And then she confessed to them that it was a Greyhound that came to her,

and that she had seen it formerly, and that it went out at the Window. And then she confessed that she had done the Maid wrong. For which she was sorry, and desired God to forgive her.

This was the most material Evidence against Florence Newton for bewitching Mary Langdon. She was also indicted for bewitching to Death one David Jones by kissing his Hand through the Prison Gate.

The writer winds up by saying that "This Witch of Youghal is so famous that he hath heard Mr. Greatrex⁽⁹⁾ speak of her at my Lord Conway's at Ragley." The date of the trial is given as September 11, 1661.

NOTES BY R. D.

(1) Hayman's reference to Florence Newton occurs at p. 30, "Guide to Youghal, Ardmore, and the Blackwater," where he attributes the cause of her arrest, execution, and suffering to "The Puritan Settlers, who were firm believers in Ghosts and Witches"; and one of the extraordinary narratives in Glanville's "Sadducimus Triumphatus," is his relation vii., "Touching Florence Newton, an Irish Witch, of Youghal, taken out of her tryal at the Assizes held for the County of Cork, Sep. 11, 1661."

(2) John Pyne, who served as Bailiff of Youghal in 1664 along with Edwd. Perry struck a trade token in brass, weight 12 gr. Ob.—"John Pinne I. P.," in the centre. Rev.—"Of Yovghall, 1657."

(3) In this narrative the words "Solar beams" twice occur, an architectural term now obsolete and forgotten. The writer is indebted to W. H. Hill, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., for the following explanatory note: "In the houses of the middle ages the principal chamber was sometimes called the Solar, the parlour, the use of which corresponded to the with-drawing room of modern times. The term solar was applied to any upper room, even a room over a shop was so called. On referring to the same old Latin dictionary I used, when we were boys at Hamblin's, I find Solarium, 'the solar in a house—a terrace—a gallery.' I would suppose that the stricken maid was taken to an upper room, and laid on a board between or resting on what we would now call joists, but then solar planes. In the 'Glossary of Architecture,' we find 'Solar—Soler—Soller, Latin Sol'ar—literally, a floor but used as a garret, the space under the roof and above the upper ceiling. The wood-loft was sometimes so called. The name of Solarium was also applied to the terraces on the tops of the houses of the ancients.' This is pure archæology, for, professionally, I never heard the term, and in the seventeenth century it was probably a survival from much earlier times."

(4) Richard Myres was Bailiff of Youghal anno 1642, and Mayor of the town in 1647, and again in 1660.

(5) Both Nicholas and John Pyne abovementioned were, I take it, men of position and related to Richard Pyne, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who was ousted by James II. to make way for Thomas Nugent, whom he created a Baron. The title was not recognised by King William, who afterwards appointed as Chief Justice Sir Richard Pyne—probably the same Richard.

(6) Edward Perry was Bailiff in 1664 and Mayor in 1674. He issued two copper tokens, the first weighs 12 grains and the second 35 grains; the first has

on the obverse a plume of three feathers with "Edward Perry." Reverse—"Of Youghall." ^P
 E * D The second "Edward," in a monogram, "Edward Perry."
 1667
 Reverse—"Of Youghall," with a plume in the field.

(7) I take it Blackwall was a surgeon or doctor.

(8) James Woods, an Independent minister, was sworn in a freeman at large of Youghall, Sep. 19, 1656, and was, in 1650, appointed by the Parliament preacher of the town, with a stipend of £120 per an. Hayman (Brady) supposes he was the James Woods who in 1683 was presented by the Grand Jury of the County Cork as a vagrant going about to seduce his Majesty's subjects under pretence of Religious Meetings, and that thus congregate several Phanaticks in Youghall and Moyallow, to the scandal of the Protestant Religion, and in contempt of the Government.—(Bishop Downes' MSS.)

(9) Greatrix. This was probably a (descendant) of Valentine Greatraks, "The Stroker," who is mentioned by Hayman, and of whom there is a portrait in his "Guide to Youghal," 1860.

valley not
Valentine

Extracted from the Unpublished Transactions of the Cork Cuvierian and Archæological Society.

(Continued from p. 122.)

RATH SOUTERRAIN BENEATH A CHURCH.

BY RICHARD CAULFIELD, A.B.

THE first meeting of the session 1863-4 took place on Wednesday evening, at the Royal Cork Institution. Francis M. Jennings, Esq., M.R.I.A., in the chair. Mr. Richard Caulfield stated that in the month of July last he had examined a crypt existing beneath the churchyard of Dunbullogue, about four miles from Cork, which had been accidentally discovered in laying the foundation of a wall round the burial ground. A few days before, he had met a man in Cork who told him, in digging a grave his spade went into a hole, which he did not anticipate, this led him to the spot, when he heard the same story corroborated by a smith who lived opposite. He promised the man half a crown if he would have the place opened the next morning at ten, when he would be there again; but upon arriving, he found the man had neglected to do so. However, he at once got to work, and to make up for lost time, in about half an hour the crypt appeared, although in order to reach it a grave had to be disturbed, but nothing daunted, he descended, and on his back forced himself into the passage, with a candle and box of matches. Here he had again to pass into the inner crypt, through a very small passage; and when in it about ten minutes (after a close examination) he found a great difficulty in breathing, and attempted to return, but the passage proved too narrow. He then removed his waistcoat and tried to enlarge the opening, but found his strength failing, and a smothering sensation, which so alarmed him that with a superhuman effort he forced

his body through, and so escaped into the outer chamber, badly cut and bruised ; but he was soon restored by the reviving effect of the fresh and pure morning air. This souterrain bears such a close resemblance to those that are found beneath the lisses, forts, and raths in the country that there can be no doubt that Dunbullogue church was originally built in one of those ancient earthworks. A ground plan of the two circular chambers and passages was laid on the table, The former measure about 6 feet in diameter and 5 feet high ; they were ceiled with small stones, so firmly embedded in a species of tempered clay as to resist considerable force in trying to extract one of them. The connecting passages were from 3 to 4 feet long, a second passage extended to a distance of 15 feet from the right-hand side of the chamber thus entered ; this passage gradually contracted towards its termination, and was formed of upright blocks of stone, covered by large flags ; these had no traces of Ogham incised characters. The chambers were placed north and south, and lay about eight feet beneath the surface of the burial ground. The parish of Dunbullogue is now united to that of Carrignavar, and forms a portion of the corps of the archdeaconry of Cork.

In this exploration Dr. Caulfield was too precipitate in entering these crypts, which must have been closed up for centuries, especially so from their peculiar situation and insanitary surroundings. A great risk was incurred of infection from foul and polluted air ; this would have been avoided had he returned in the afternoon, and given time for a free ingress of the outer air to ventilate the place. He should also have availed of the blacksmith's presence, who could have remained in the outer chamber and afforded him help ; his doing so would have enabled him to get out of a very dangerous predicament with much less difficulty. In further proof of the danger of being alone in such a place, the writer, on a recent occasion when squeezing his body through a connecting passage between two chambers in a rath on Mount Hillary, would have possibly been there still had not a companion removed a quantity of earth and stones which had fallen upon him from the ceiling.

There is a wonderful sameness in the souterrains in the majority of these earthworks—the same narrow downward entrance, the group of bee-hived chambers, the connecting passages, which in many cases are so contracted that only men of a smaller race could have crept through them, and the well-known circular form that, like a fairy ring, marks the landscape, are all so many points of resemblance, and go to prove that they were constructed and used by a primitive people of the same race.

R. D.

MINUTES OF THE CORK CUVIERIAN SOCIETY, 1866-7.

BY RICHARD CAULFIELD, LL.D., F.S.A.

"At the commencement of last week, as a labourer was dressing a potato garden on the lands of Curraghealy, in the parish of Aglish, his spade struck against a flag, on removing which an aperture in the ground was discovered which seemed to lead into a chamber. This fact was immediately communicated to some of the members of the Cuvierian and Archæological Society. On Thursday Mr. Robert Day started for the scene of the discovery, and found in the first chamber a large quantity of bones, which he had carefully removed and afterwards brought to Cork. The report that human remains were seen in the crypt added much to the interest of the discovery, but subsequently

this rumour turned out to be unfounded.⁽¹⁾ With a view, however, to thoroughly investigate the nature and contents of these subterranean chambers, Messrs. R. Day, Joseph Wright, F.G.S., and Dr. Caulfield, F.S.A., proceeded on the afternoon of Monday to the spot, and after accurate measurement and examination, made the following report:—The entrance of the first chamber, which is nine feet below the surface of the ground, is 5 feet long by 18 inches broad. This led into a chamber excavated out of the old red sandstone, 6 feet broad, 4 feet high, and 10 feet long, running about west and east. The old red sandstone dips north at a high angle, and the cleavage strikes north and south. From this a passage, nearly circular, 5 feet 6 inches in length, 2 feet high, and 2 feet broad, led into chamber No. 2, which is 9 feet long, 5 feet broad, and 4 feet high. On the right of this chamber as you enter it is a compartment excavated in the form of an arch. Another passage, 2 feet high, 2 feet broad, and 2 feet long, leading into chamber No. 3, which, taking a crescent form, diverges north and south. At the right of this chamber, which is 4 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet high, is a compartment similar to chamber No. 2. The passage out of this leading to chamber No. 4, runs east and west, and is 6 feet long, 2 feet broad, and 2 feet high. To the right is an arch similar to that in Nos. 2 and 3. Over this chamber was a shaft⁽²⁾ which was bored out of the solid rock, perfectly circular, and 7 inches in diameter; it took an oblique direction towards the surface. This chamber was 14 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 4 feet high. Beyond this was another apartment which communicated with the surface, but the earth had fallen in, and further penetration into these gloomy passages seemed dangerous. The excavation of these crypts must have been accomplished with great labour. The floor was covered with large stones, one or two fragments of burned lime, and some vitrified stones, with clinkers were found, which would indicate that these crypts must have been used at a period much later than their construction.

"There was no appearance of a rath⁽³⁾ having ever occupied this place, though one exists a few fields away. From this eminence, which is about two miles north-west of Kilcrea, there is a very magnificent prospect of the surrounding country. On the slopes of the valley are seen the parish churches of Aglish, Magourney, and Aghabolloge, and the cross of Donoughmore, while towards the west Muschera mountain lifts up its cloud-capped crest.

"We made the above exploration on Monday evening, May 27th, 1867. Started from Cork for Kilcrea by the 4.30 p.m. train, walked to the scene of discovery from the Kilcrea station, and subsequently started for home at about 7.45, arriving at Cork at 11.15. We walked the entire way, stopping at Ballincollig for refreshments about ten minutes."—R. C.

⁽¹⁾ These bones were sent to the Queen's College, where they were examined by the late Professor R. Harkness, F.R.S., who identified them as having belonged to the ox, dog, pig, fox, etc., etc. Among them were two remarkably fine heads of the extinct long-faced Irish ox—*bos longifrons*.

⁽²⁾ This ventilating shaft was so perfectly formed that it had all the appearance of having been made with a diamond drill; it is the only example of the kind on record.

⁽³⁾ Although all traces of a rath had disappeared from the outer surface, there can be no doubt but one did exist, which, in comparatively recent times, had been removed by some farmer more strong-minded than his neighbours whose agricultural zeal overcame his superstitious dread of disturbing the fairies.

CORK CUVIERIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

At the first meeting of the Society for the session 1867-8, Mr. William Dowden in the chair, Dr. Caulfield said—"During the present summer I spent three weeks amongst the Irish State Papers in the Public Record Office, London, where, owing to the courtesy of Mr. Hans C. Hamilton, the head of that department, I have been able to glean some curious unpublished historical particulars having reference to this city and county during the sixteenth and following century; and the more I examined these records, the stronger was my conviction that the history of Ireland, both ecclesiastical and civil, is almost an unwritten book, but the materials for which, through the valuable Calendars published* by Mr. Hamilton, under the Master of the Rolls, are now easily consulted by the diligent student. The history of our own locality was, of course, the object of my special care and research, and I hope to be able, from time to time during the ensuing season, to add an additional chapter to our city and county annals; and here a wide and hitherto unexplored mine is open for investigation, so much so, that the difficulty really lies in making a selection from all the new matter that presents itself. Most of these records are in the form of correspondence from the Lord Deputy to the President, in which the condition of the county and city at that time is minutely described, viz., its military efficiency, commissariat, fortification, the loyalty of its inhabitants, the conduct of the English planters, applications for relief from the gentry, complaints about cess, and the support of soldiers, of which the lordly inhabitant of Blarney Castle complains bitterly; accounts of fearful plagues, pestilences, and famines, and a riot between the citizens and some soldiers, which took place at the re-building of Elizabeth's Fort, has been subject to as minute an investigation as any conducted in modern times. On the whole, it is evident from these records that the English nation has ever had on hands an ineffectual task in endeavouring to regulate by the same laws the Saxon and Celtic peoples, nor has the grafting of the Saxon on the Celtic stock for so many centuries been productive of better results.

"The old tree is still rooted and nourished in her native soil, her language, imperceptibly dying out, is yet dear to her, and though an exile in distant lands, it still cherishes the remembrance of the home of her youth. Reflecting on this abnormal state of things, one is led to think that our rulers would perhaps have exercised a wise discretion had they legislated for the Celt from an ethnological as well as an Anglo-political point of view, nay, more, so little confidence did either party at this time place in the motives that seemed to actuate the other, that overtures of peace from the one caused the other to gird himself for the battle, offers of reconciliation were smothered by the murmurings of perpetual strife, the midnight raiders suddenly burned the town, wasted the homestead, and carried off the corn into fastnesses and woods.

"Such is the picture presented to us in the MSS. of the social state of this county at the close of the sixteenth century. I have a document in which are the names of one hundred and eighty-seven towns and villages in Barrymore's country that were burned and spoiled by Tyrone and James Fitz Thomas Desmond from the 23rd to 27th February, 1599. Of course, town means here a farmer's steading or a small collection of houses. From a number of such abstracts, which I made, I have selected one which I shall read this evening. It details a remarkable instance of the chivalry and hospitality of the Celtic character, and contains in itself the elements of a tragic romance. The locality is well known to all of us, the Castle of Carrigaline: the names of the principal

actors, even through the dim vista of four centuries, are still familiar to us—Miles Great Cogan, his brother Shiara, and his son-in-law, Cormac Roe MacCarthy. About the year 1177 King Henry granted to the ancestor of this Miles Great Cogan and Robert FitzStephen all the Kingdom of Cork, except the city, then chiefly occupied by Danish inhabitants. The barony of Kerricurrihy fell to the lot of Cogan, and here on the top of a barren limestone rock, high over the river, which sweeps beneath in all its romantic beauty, he built for his dwelling-place the impregnable Castle of Carrigaline, as it was this time called. Now, it appears that the Earl of Desmond came into possession of this castle and territory about the year 1438, and how he came into the occupation and enjoyment of it will appear from the following narrative, which was communicated to Queen Elizabeth by Sir Warham St. Leger in May, 1589. The document is entitled—"The original and true Commencement of the Earl of Desmond's title, concerning the lands of Kirrywhirry, with the manor of Great Cogan's decay, the banishment of his Kinsmen, and the beginning of the pretended freeholders' interest in these lands."

"Myles Cogan, the last Great Cogan, having no issue but one son and daughter, and being a man of great years and blind, and not able to defend his Lordship's countries and seignories, as before he and his ancestors did, thought good for his better strength and defence of his countries to join his daughter in marriage with one Cormac Roe MacCarthy, a Gentleman of Muscry, being a man very valiant and of great alliance and strength in the County of Cork, and a near neighbour to the said last Great Cogan, conditioning with the said Cormac Roe that in respect of that marriage he should join with him in his defence against those which should offer him wrong, himself being so impotent and blind as aforesaid that he could not avenge his own cause. After which marriage there was offered to the said Great Cogan great injury by a brother of his called Shiara Cogan, dwelling in a town and castle called Ballinre, not distant above a mile from the chief house called Carrigaline, alias Beaver, where the said Great Cogan dwelt, which town and Castle Ballinre were by the said Great Cogan disposed on his brother, Shiara Cogan, as his portion of living, by the name of Kinfinaghies, according to the Irish custom, for certain yearly rent, which custom is in the nature of tenancy at will, because the tenants are removable at the pleasure of the Lord, and his brother Shiara being a stout old man, having eight tall horsemen to his sons, and being driven to great charges by maintaining of his sons, and forced besides to be at great charges for defence of the said Country (his brother, Great Cogan, being blind and impotent, as aforesaid), denied to pay to his brother, Myles Great Cogan, such rent as he was accustomed to pay unto him. Whereupon Myles Great Cogan disliking his brother's answer and desirous to be revenged of his brother for denying him his due rent, sent for his son-in-law, Cormac Roe, signifying to him with grief of mind the injury his brother Shiara offered him, requesting his son-in-law to revenge the wrong offered him by his brother. Whereunto Cormac Roe answered him that Shiara Cogan was a gentleman of good reputation and was also his gossip, so as he could not with credit seek revenge on him; but if it was against any other he would do his uttermost that in him lay. Whereupon the said Great Cogan replied and told the said Cormac Roe that he married his daughter unto him upon conditions that he should revenge such injuries as should be offered unto him by any body (disliking greatly that he would deny him to be revenged of those that offered him wrong, according to his faithful promise). Whereupon Cormac Roe being thus charged, he said

he would ride to Ballinre to his gossip Shiara, to see if he could frame him to pay the rent due by him to be paid. And coming to Ballinre unto Shiara Cogan's Castle, he required to speak with his gossip Shiara, who came out of his castle to a green before the house to talk with him; and after some communication had been between them, Cormac Roe not being answered to his contentment of the matters concerning his father-in-law, determined to depart. Whereupon Shiara Cogan earnestly requested him to stay dinner with him, saying there was a beef at the fire, and he had a hogshead of wine ready to be drunk, and therefore requested him again not to depart till after dinner, upon whose request Cormac Roe tarried, desiring the said Shiara that they might bestow their time together till dinner time, and so they went together, Cormac Roe on horse-back and the other on foot in the highway, a pretty distance from Ballinre, till they came to a little valley, where they of the Castle could not describe their doings, when the said Cormac Roe again requested Shiara not to offer his father-in-law wrong. And the said Shiara giving him overthwart answers, Cormac Roe lighted suddenly from his horse, and with his skene cut Shiara's throat, and then road away to his house in Muskry, and shortly after this act done, there came a poor pilgrim on the highway, and coming to Castle of Ballinre, he was asked what he was and from whence he came, and also what news there was in the country. He said he was a poor pilgrim, declaring that such news as he had he would tell them, and that was that coming on the highway not far from thence, he saw a goodly old man with his throat cut in the highway, and his mantle turned over him.

"Whereupon his eight sons hearing this news, supposing it was their Father, with all speed took them to their horses thinking to pursue the said Cormac Roe, who they thought was gone to Carrigaline, alias Beaver, the said Great Cogan's chief house, and coming so sudden they found Cogan's son and heir on a rock a little without the Castle of Carrigaline, and having him in their possession came to Great Cogan's Castle of Carrigaline threatening him that if he would not let them into the Castle they would hang up his son before his face, who denying them to come in, they hanged him on the said rock, in revenge of their father's death, and afterwards besieged the Castle; and upon compulsion Great Cogan, for want of victuals, delivered the Castle to Shiara's sons, who kept Great Cogan prisoner the space of a month in the castle, and then corrupted a swineherd belonging to that house to steal him away secretly in the night to the City of Cork, who for gain of money performed his request, and after he was come to Cork he sent for the Lord Barry, being then a strong man in the County Cork, offering him if he would revenge the death of his son on his nephews he would convey all his lands unto him, which offer, and before the perfection of the same, the said Lord Barry coming into the parts near Cork and taking a great prey, Great Cogan being in the City of Cork, sent certain of his men to Lord Barry, requesting him to send him a steige, who sent him but four kine, whereat Cogan was marvellously offended, taking thereon such great displeasure for so simple a remembrance, as he swore by no small Oaths, that no such base-minded churl as Lord Barry was should ever enjoy any lands of his. Shortly after this, one of the Earls of Desmond taking a great prey and passing therewith near the skirts of the City of Cork, Great Cogan sent to the great Earl for a sleke. The Earl willed the messenger to go with a token to them that had the charge of driving the prize willing to drive away as many kine as they could, whereupon they took four score kine and upwards, and coming to their master, Cogan, he asked them how many

kine they had brought? They answered that the Earl willed them to bring as many kine as they could drive away. Cogan answered that there was a great difference between a nobleman and a churl, and therefore he would give to the Earl of Desmond his lands, and forthwith sent for the said Earl to come to the gates of Cork to speak with him, and so concluded with him to dispose his lands on him if he would revenge the hanging of his son, which he took upon him to do, since which time the Earl killed, hanged and banished the eight sons of Shiara Cogan, saving one or two of them, which upon their submission the Earl permitted to enjoy small portions of land in the County, holding of the Earl and his successors as tenants at will, and yielding such impositions as he agreed with them to pay according as the said lands were always charged, and is found in two several offices, for the Queen's majesty by the attainder of the late wicked Earl of Desmond, which rents and duties the pretended freeholders never denied to pay till of late years, that they have devised counterfeit writings from some of the Cogans that are neither kith nor kin to those Cogans that are descended from the right house of Great Cogan, not respecting from which of the Cogans they derived their estates, so as they were named a Cogan, of which name there is no small multitude. So as it may plainly appear that these reputed shareholders were but tenants at will, and their best estate but Kinfinaghes, and those that are now admitted freeholders are but intruders, and hereby her Majesty is defrauded of her rightful inheritance and put beside Her Royalties and prerogatives of these lands."

"Since my return I visited the Castle of Carrigaline and Ballinrea with a view to identify the sites of these four murders. All that exists of the ancient Castle are the ruins of a very strong Anglo-Norman keep, the foundations of the wall that surrounded the court-yard, and the remains of a more modern building. I have no doubt that I stood on the spot on the summit of the rock outside the Castle on which the sole heir to this princely heritage met his end. South-west of this about a mile and a half in a bird's flight stands Ballinrea. The Castle has quite disappeared, but from it that of Carrigaline can clearly be seen. On arriving here, a little further on I descended into a valley in which most probably the poor pilgrim discovered the body of Shiara Cogan enveloped in his bloodstained mantle. Whatever Shiara may have done to have merited his fate, the character of MacCarthy is sufficiently vindicated by his reply to his father-in-law when first urged to revenge. The following letter from Barnabie Dalie, warder of the Castle for Sir Warham St. Leger in 1574, and preserved in the Record Office, is of interest, showing Dalie's fidelity in his determination to die rather than surrender his trust, and the intrigue of the Earl of Desmond to re-posess himself of so important a stronghold:—

"Feb 10, 1574. Advertiseth that when in November last was four years the Right Hon. Henry Sidney, Knt., the Lord Deputy of this realm of Ireland, being in these parts about the taking of the Castle of Ballymartir from the Seneschal of Imokillie, and the Castle of Carrigaline from James FitzMaurice, did deliver and commit to me upon trust to keep to the use and behalf of Sir Warham St. Leger, Knt., this said castle and the lands thereunto belonging, all which Sir Warham had by lease of the Earl of Desmond, and ever since I have kept to the contention of Sir Warham, although by James FitzMaurice and the said Seneschal, with Rurye McCraghe and their complices many times I was assailed and most cruelly and miserably preyed, as well before Sir John Perrett's coming with the Lord President as since, and no restitution yet made, so it is, Right Hon., that since the scape of the said Earl I have been menaced

to render up this Castle to the Earl, and practises made by the Seneschal to assault the same, and especially now late with 25 long double ladders which were made in Dromquin wood, and should have been brought hither by certain boats of Youghal, whereof I advertised Mr. Walshe, the justice here, and I thank God I have prevented their practises, and by God's Grace shall, according to the said commandment and trust reposed in me. I hope to keep this Castle or loose my life.

"Now, the Earl perceiving that, and also that I am at my keeping with a double guard well furnished, he hath a new device, viz., to come within these viii. days v. miles hence, and ii. from Cork, and then by proclamation to tender a sum of money for which he saith that the Castle and lands lieth in mortgage into Sir Warham, and then and there send for me to receive the same and render the Castle, which I refuse to do, then with all his power he will assail this castle and burn and spoil this country. I doubt not this castle as I do lament the spoil of all which I have thought it my duty to advertise your Honor, etc. From the Castle of Carrigaline, alias Beavoyer, viii. Feby., 1574. BARNABIE DALIE."

"The terrible exactions imposed on his retainers by the Earl of Desmond must have made any change in the proprietorship of the lands desirable to them, for tenants they could not be called. We have here a letter in which the account of the imposition and their nature is explained. Such events, however, as these letters disclose are but fulfilment of certain laws that have ever been governing the destinies of inheritances, whether sacred or secular. The Norman Cogan drove out some ancient Celtic sept, the Earl of Desmond displaced Cogan, and in due time Sir Warham St. Leger got possession of all. And such was the state of things in the world before the Saxon or Celt got a footing in these Islands, as intimated by him who spake as a philosopher as well as a poet:

*"Nam propriæ telluris herum natura, neque illum,
Nec me, nec quemquam statuit, nos expulit ille;
Illum aut nequities, aut vafri inscitia juris,
Post remo expellet certe vivatior heres."*

R. C.

Case of Captain Philip Hay and George, Earl of Kingston, in 1798.

SOON after the appearance of my paper in vol. ix., No. 60 of the "Journal," entitled "An Incident of 1798," Mr. James Buckley, one of the most valuable and most valued contributors to its columns, very kindly sent me an old pamphlet containing an account of the case of George Earl of Kingston (the Viscount Kingsborough of my sketch) and Captain Philip Hay of the 18th Light Dragoons. As this very rare pamphlet deals with a matter of historical interest, and as Lord Kingston was so intimately connected with this county by birth and residence, and as Colonel of the North Cork Militia, it seems desirable to me that some notice of it should appear in the "Journal." It is too long to reproduce in full, but as the Appendix gives the substance of it, the Appendix is here given.

COURTENAY MOORE, Canon, M.A., Council Member.

A NARRATIVE
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMISSIONERS
OF SUFFERING LOYALISTS.

IN THE CASE OF

CAPT. PHILIP HAY,
Of the 18th Light Dragoons.

WITH REMARKS THEREON

BY

GEORGE, EARL OF KINGSTON.

DUBLIN :
PRINTED BY C. LA GRANGE,
NASSAU STREET.

IN THE KING'S BENCH.

THE Right Hon. George Earl of Kingston, of that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland, residing in Portland Place, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Bone, in the county of Middlesex, and Arthur Annesley Powell, of Devonshire Place in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Bone, in the county of Middlesex, Esq., severally make Oath and say: And first the said Earl for himself saith, that in the year 1798, he was Colonel and Commander of the North Cork Militia, which regiment was quartered at Wexford, in Ireland, when the rebellion broke out in that county, and was proceeding to the said regiment, but at the entrance of the harbour of Wexford, the vessel in which he was embarked was captured by the rebels, and he and two officers of his regiment were taken prisoners. And this deponent further saith, that he remained a prisoner with the rebels for several days, during which time he had an opportunity of observing Philip Hay who is now as this deponent has been informed, and believes a captain in his Majesty's 18th Regiment of Light Dragoons, and who then appeared to have a command among the rebels and to act as one of their Commanders, so much so, that he, this deponent, was satisfied that the said Philip Hay was a commander in the rebel army, and that he this deponent was during the time he so remained a prisoner with the rebels, informed by the chief of the rebels, who was called General Keugh, that the said Philip Hay had deserted from his Majesty's service and joined the rebel: and thus deponent further saith, that the said Philip Hay afterwards applied to the commissioners for suffering loyalists in Dublin for and obtained a compensation from them as a suffering loyalist; and this deponent, the said Earl, further saith that he hath been informed, and which information he believes to be true, that a meeting of the Magistrates of the county of Wexford was called as soon as it was known that the said Philip Hay had obtained a compensation as a suffering loyalist for the purpose of taking such matter into consideration, and that a meeting of the High Sheriff and Magistrates of the county of Wexford was held at Ennis-corthy on the 26th day of January, 1803, when it was unanimously resolved, that the claim of Philip Hay, of Ballinkeele, Esq., as a suffering loyalist (meaning as this deponent verily believes the before-named Captain Philip Hay) should be sent down to the said county for investigation, as many matters had come to their knowledge, which the commissioners in Dublin could not possibly be informed of; and this deponent, the said Earl, saith that he hath been informed that such resolution was addressed and sent to the commissioners of claims for suffering loyalists, and this deponent, the said Earl, further saith that he hath also been informed, and which information he believes to be true, that the said commissioners declined to send the said Philip Hay's claim to the said county of Wexford for trial, unless the sheriff and magistrates gave a specific charge against him, and this deponent, the said Earl, further saith he has been informed and believes that the said High Sheriff and Magistrates afterwards sent to the said commissioners a letter, the contents of which, according to the best of this deponent's recollection and belief were as follows: "Wexford, 2nd Feb., 1803."—"Sirs, we have received your letter of the 31st day of January last, and are ready to proceed on the investigation of Mr. Philip Hay's claim as soon as you shall send down a commission for that purpose, having before us abundant evidence in our opinion to prove that he was not as required by the act an active loyalist, but a decided rebel.—We cannot withhold the expression of our astonishment at his name never having appeared in any printed list, or any inquiry being made in this county concerning so questionable a character"—and which

letter appeared to be signed by the high sheriff and twenty-one magistrates of the county of Wexford; and this deponent, the said Earl, further saith that proceedings were afterwards instituted against him the said Philip Hay for the purpose of recovering back such compensation in the Court of Quarter Sessions in the county of Wexford, and also afterwards in the Court of Exchequer in Dublin, by consent, in a feigned issue, but that he the said Philip Hay availed himself of formal and legal objections to the proceedings in and jurisdiction of the said respective courts, and so evaded the public investigation of his right to retain such compensation as this deponent has been informed, and which information he believes to be true: and this deponent the said Earl, further saith, that he this deponent having become acquainted with the above circumstances relative to the said Philip Hay's claim for compensation, and having been called upon by one of the commissioners to state the facts he knew as to the said Philip Hay's conduct; he this deponent wrote a letter to the Right Hon. Philip Lord Hardwicke, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, stating the several circumstances relative to Captain Hay's conduct in the said rebellion, and the transactions as to his claims for compensation as a suffering loyalist; and this deponent further saith, that on the evening of Thursday, the 8th day of October last, the said Philip Hay as this deponent believes, accompanied by two Gentlemen, called at the dwelling-house of this deponent in Portland Place, and not finding him at home, the said Philip Hay accompanied as this deponent also believes by the same two gentlemen met him, this deponent, in company with the said Arthur Annesley Powell the same evening, in Devonshire-street, which is but a short distance from Portland-place, when the said Philip Hay accosted this deponent by saying, "I believe I speak to Lord Kingston," to which this deponent answered, "you do"; whereupon the said Philip Hay said, "these are my friends" (meaning the said two gentlemen by whom the said Philip Hay was so accompanied), describing one of them as Captain Hughes and the other as Mr. Carew. This deponent then directing his discourse to the said Philip Hay, said, "pray who is addressing me," to which the said Philip Hay then answered, "I am Captain Philip Hay of the 18th Light Dragoons." This deponent then said to the said Philip Hay, "very well, what is your business," when the said Philip Hay replied to this deponent, "as you have calumniated my character, I have a right to expect that satisfaction from you which one gentleman has a right to expect from another, or an apology," whereupon this deponent said to the said Philip Hay, "Captain Hay, do you mean this as a challenge," to which the said Philip Hay answered, "I mean to demand satisfaction or an apology." This deponent then replied to the said Captain Hay, "I will make no apology, and as to meeting you as a gentleman, I do not consider you a fit person for me to meet, as you have evaded appearing before a jury of your countrymen to take your trial for the swindling transaction you have been guilty of, in obtaining compensation as a suffering loyalist, when you were in fact a rebel, and I most certainly will not meet you, but will take the advice of my friends about prosecuting you for the challenge." And this deponent the said Earl further saith, that some further conversation then took place, the particulars of which he cannot now recollect; and this deponent the said Earl further saith, that the said Philip Hay then departed saying, "that his character stood higher than this deponent's; and that he, this deponent, might hide himself in his own infamy"; and this deponent, Arthur Annesley Powell, for himself saith, that he was in company with the said Earl when the said Philip Hay met and accosted him in the manner above stated and that such interview and conversation took place between the said Earl and the said Philip Hay as is

above stated, and in the sight and hearing of him this deponent, Arthur Annesley Powell, and that he this deponent understood from what passed, that the said Philip Hay meant to challenge the said Earl to fight a duel with him, the said Philip Hay, if the said Earl did not make an apology to the said Philip Hay for having calumniated his character, as he alledged the said Earl to have done.

IN THE KING'S BENCH.

Philip Hay of Ballinkeele castle, in the county of Wexford, in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, Esq., a Captain in his Majesty's 18th Regt. of Light Dragoons, and now residing in the barracks at Warley, in the county of Essex, maketh oath and saith, that having been born in Ireland, he left that country in May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, being then about thirteen years old (together with his younger brother) for the Continent of Europe, and remained principally in Italy and Germany, for near five years. That on their return to England both this deponent and his said brother obtained ensigncies in his Majesty's service, and in July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety five, succeeded to companies all by purchase; and this deponent and his said brother embarked soon afterwards with their respective regiments for the West Indies, and there served the campaigns of one thousand seven hundred and ninety six, and one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven, without this deponent having ever been in Ireland from the time he so left it in one thousand seven hundred and ninety, except for the short space of eight days previously to this deponent's sailing upon foreign service: and this deponent further saith, that his said brother had the honor of receiving Sir Ralph Abercrombie's thanks in General Orders for his gallant conduct during the siege and at the taking of the island of Saint Lucia, and unfortunately lost his life the October following in consequence of the fatigues he had undergone on that occasion: and this deponent further saith, that on the twenty-ninth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, this deponent's father died, having by his will bequeathed a principal part of his fortune to this deponent, but this deponent's eldest brother having shewn a disposition to dispute the said will, and having taken possession of the property thereby bequeathed to this deponent, this deponent at the instance of his friends obtained permission from Sir Ralph Abercrombie to return home and assert his right: and this deponent further saith, that he arrived in England from the West Indies in or about the month of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, and immediately after went to his estate in the county of Wexford to look after his affairs, where he remained about one month: and this deponent further saith, that he afterwards returned to London and occasionally went to Dublin for short periods about the business of the law-suit with his said brother, till the month of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, when the same was terminated in favour of this deponent, and that during the progress of the said litigation, this deponent being anxious for preferment in the army, he in February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, lodged the regulated difference between a company (which this deponent then held in the 3d regiment of foot) and a troop of horse, in the hands of Messrs. Fraser and Read, army agents in Dublin: and this deponent further saith, that soon after the termination of the said law-suit, this deponent by the advice of his counsel and friends, repaired from Dublin to the county of Wexford on the thirtieth of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, in company with Mr. Richards, a gentleman of property and a respectable Magistrate of that county, who resides

within four miles of this deponent's house, and had been appointed by the Court in Ireland a sort of Curator pendente Lite and who had let this deponent's house and domain for one year (which expired on the first of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight), and on that day, this deponent went with the said Mr. Richards' house to this deponent's house and domain, and received the possession thereof from him as well as the attornment of his friends, and this deponent further saith, that not having any establishment at his own house, he remained with the said Mr. Richards (who is a gentleman of unsuspected loyalty, and then commanded a troop of Volunteer Yeomanry of his neighbourhood) riding over occasionally to his own house and mostly accompanied by the said Mr. Richards, who assisted this deponent in settling and arranging various matters; and this deponent further saith, that although the rebellion did not break out till the twenty-sixth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight the country was before that time far from being in a tranquil state, and this deponent's principal employment between the first and twenty-sixth of May exclusive of his own private concerns, was (one no less gratifying to his feelings than consistent with his duty as a loyal subject of the King, namely, that of establishing the loyalty and good affection towards the Government of the country of such of his tenantry as were loyally disposed, and of reclaiming to the utmost of his power such of the deluded tenantry as had been seduced or corrupted, and this deponent saith, that by the persuasion and influence of this deponent during that short space of time several pikes and fire arms were given up, and about two hundred and forty persons took the Oath of Allegiance to their Sovereign, which was administered to most of them by the said Mr. Richards, at this deponent's house) and became as deponent hoped faithful subjects to the Crown, and this deponent further saith, that whilst he was so residing at Mr. Richards' house, and whilst he was so employed as aforesaid, the rebellion broke out suddenly on the twenty-sixth of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, when this deponent immediately joined the said Mr. Richards troop of Yeomanry as a Volunteer, and continued to serve with him in aid of the King's troops as long as any man served and fought with him against the rebels and until the evacuation of Wexford by his Majesty's forces was determined upon: and this deponent further saith, that he not only was engaged as one of the said Mr. Richards' troop with other forces on the side of the King, against the rebels at the battle of Enniscorthy, on the twenty eighth day of May aforesaid, but after they had found themselves obliged to yield to superior numbers, and the King's forces were actually retreating, this deponent on the said Mr. Richards expressing his anxiety for the females of his family who were in a house then on fire in the town of Enniscorthy, accompanied him in an almost desperate effort for their deliverance, and whilst the said Mr. Richards saved his wife, this deponent snatched his sister-in-law from the flames, and carried her on horseback before him through the conflagration and the enemy at no inconsiderable hazard, the armed rebels having at that time entered part of the town: and this deponent further saith, that the King's troops having retreated from Enniscorthy to Wexford, gave battle again to the rebels at the Three Rocks on the thirtieth of May, and on that occasion this deponent also accompanied them and again fought with them against the rebels, and did every thing which a loyal subject could do, while there remained any force in Wexford with which he could co-operate: and this deponent further saith, that those who commanded in Wexford thought proper suddenly and without any notice whatever to evacuate the town, and that many men of unquestionable loyalty, some of them King's Officers, were

left behind and intercepted by the rebels, amongst which number was this deponent and his said friend Mr. Richards, who with many others got on ship-board, with a view of escaping by water, which attempt was unfortunately frustrated and they were made prisoners by the rebels: and this deponent denies that he, on the occasion aforesaid, or on any other occasion, deserted to and joined the rebels at Wexford or any other persons in insurrections or rebellion against His Majesty King George the Third, or ever was inclined to do so, but he saith that on being so made prisoner he was recognised by some of the rebels, who knowing that deponent had been bred to arms, insisted he should join them or be put to immediate death, and that a spit was put to his throat by some of the rebels, whilst others of them girt a sword upon his side: and this deponent further saith, that in this dilemma, he had no other alternative but appearing to join them or submitting to be butchered in the most barbarous manner, and that he thought an appearance of conniving in their views would not only best secure his personal safety, but afford him the best opportunity of escaping, and that he actually escaped and got away from them in the course of eleven days after he had been captured, during which time Earl Kingston was made a prisoner, and this deponent says that the said Earl was apprised of this deponent's before-mentioned intention, and that he entreated this deponent if he effected his escape, to communicate the situation his Lordship was in to the Government and his friends: and this deponent further saith, that while he so remained a prisoner with the rebels, he was not a commander nor had any command amongst them; but on the contrary, he was, as he believes, during his continuance amongst the rebels an object of much suspicion with them, and scarcely a day passed in which his life was not threatened: and this deponent further saith, that during the time he so remained a prisoner, he at different times mentioned his abhorrence of his situation and his determination to escape to all the loyalists in whom he dared confide, and oftener than was consistent with discretion, in order that if this deponent should fail in his intended attempt to escape, there might be witnesses who would clear up his motives and character to the world: and this deponent further saith, that on the eleventh day after he had been taken at Wexford, this deponent by pretending that he was sent with intelligence from the rebels at Wexford to other parties of them which he was not in truth despatched with, found his way through their different posts to their out-posts, and as he supposed beyond all their stations, when having taken the green bough out of his hat and galloped off, he was pursued by several of them who fired a great number of shots at him: and this deponent further saith, that he was as he believes, the very first loyalist who escaped from the rebels, and that he proceeded to Carlow without stopping, and on his arrival waited on Lord Tyrone, now Marquis of Waterford, who commanded for his Majesty there, and informed him of every particular with which he was acquainted, and this deponent in like manner waited upon and gave the like intelligence to the King's Brigadier General Henniker, at Kilcullen Bridge, and from thence proceeded to Dublin, where he immediately repaired to the Castle and detailed the particulars to Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Marsden, for Lord Cornwallis's information, being the first intelligence they had received from any body of the then interesting situation of the county of Wexford as this deponent believes, and this deponent then called upon the late Lord Ely, and communicated to him all the circumstances above stated; and shortly afterwards waited on Lord Mount Cashel, Lord Kingston's brother in law, and acquainted him of the like facts, and the situation in which he had left Lord Kingston at Wexford, being the only favour which this deponent is at all conscious of his

having done to Lord Kingston in his life-time : and this deponent further saith, that his story to the Members of the Government was the same as he has now stated, and that he suppressed no fact nor concealed any circumstance concerning himself, and remained in Dublin unaccused and unsuspected, until the troubles in the county of Wexford were at an end, and the subsiding alarms of those who had suffered by them made way for their resentments, and this deponent having then been informed by a friend that suspicions had been conceived against this deponent, he impatiently hastened to the then Commander of the forces, Lieutenant General Lake, now Lord Lake, and requested that a Court Martial might be called upon his conduct, and that the severest investigation might do justice to it : and this deponent further saith, that the said Lord Lake who knew this deponent's history, and conceived his conduct was generally known, told him he considered his conduct above suspicion ; and with this declaration refused this deponent's request ; and this deponent further saith, that representations being afterwards made to the Government from certain of the Magistrates and others of the county of Wexford, this deponent was sent to Wexford for trial and was accordingly brought to trial on the twenty-seventh of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, before a Court Martial composed of the following Members, namely, President—Colonel William Earl of Ancram, Mid. Lothian Cavalry ; Members—Lieut. Colonel Sir James Fowlis, Bart., Mid. Lothian Cavalry ; Lieut. Colonel John Enys, 29th Foot ; Lieut. Colonel Francis James Scott, Dunbarton Fencibles ; Lieut. Colonel Lord Frederick Montague, 29th Foot ; Lieut. Colonel Thomas Eyre, 2nd, or Queen's ; Major James Kirkman, 29th Foot ; Major James Dewar, Mid. Lothian Cavalry ; Major James Gibson, Dunbarton Fencibles ; Hon. Major James Ramsay, 2nd, or Queen's ; Captain Thomas Ingliss, Mid. Lothian Cavalry ; Captain George Johnstone, 29th Foot ; Captain Robert Donald, 2nd, or Queen's ; Ensign and Adjutant Thomas O'Neil, 29th Foot, Deputy Judge Advocate.

And this deponent further saith, that the crime of which he was accused was as follows : "Captain Philip Hay of the 3d Regiment of Foot, or Buffs, charged with being in Arms and being in Rebellion against his Majesty," to which this deponent pleaded not Guilty ; and this deponent further saith, that after a trial of seven days, in the course of which no circumstance was proved which this deponent had not himself communicated immediately after his escape, the following sentence was pronounced, namely :—The Court having maturely and deliberately considered the whole of the evidence for and against the prisoner, Captain Philip Hay, of the 3d Regiment of Foot, and his defence, is of opinion, that the charges against him have been proved, but it evidently appearing that the prisoner's conduct proceeded from arbitrary compulsion, the Court does therefore Honorably acquit him. Thomas O'Neil, Deputy Judge Advocate ; Ancram, Colonel, M. Lothian Cavalry, President.

And this deponent further saith, that the persons at whose instance he had been brought to trial, and who had formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of prosecuting him, were allowed to produce every witness who could be found to prove acts of disloyalty against this deponent, and spared no pains or exertions in obtaining them : and this deponent further saith, that a few days after his acquittal, he returned to Dublin and waited on Lord Cornwallis, who recommended this deponent for a Troop (the amount of the purchase money for which this deponent had so lodged in the hands of Messrs. Fraser and Read, as before mentioned) in the late 23d Light Dragoons, and this deponent was thereupon appointed thereto, and served in the said regiment until their reduction in December, one thousand eight hundred and two, when this deponent was put

upon half pay; but in June, one thousand eight hundred and three, his Majesty was pleased to appoint this deponent from half-pay to one of the Field Officer's Troops in the 18th Light Dragoons, which station he still holds: and this deponent further saith, that during the said rebellion part of his plate which had been left in charge with the said Mr. Richards had been plundered, together with Mr. Richards' own by the rebels, and every loyal man who had sustained any loss having put in his claim under an Irish act of parliament, passed about eighteen hundred, this deponent did the same, and stated personally to the commissioners the situation he had been placed in during the time he was in the possession of the rebels, and apprised them of all the circumstances that occurred during that period, and of the before mentioned court martial and its result, whereupon the said commissioners granted this deponent's claim, and he received ninety five pounds from the treasury, which was less than his said loss actually amounted to: and this deponent further saith, that the same persons who had before prosecuted this deponent's trial, in one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, aided by the said Earl of Kingston (who was well acquainted with the proceedings before the court martial, and the result of it) petitioned the commissioners of suffering loyalists against this deponent, and prevailed upon them to demand a return of the money this deponent had received, and to signify, that if this deponent refused to refund it, the question of his loyalty should be tried, but this deponent refused to return the money, and thereupon proceedings were carried on against this deponent, and an attempt was made to force a trial of the question at the quarter sessions for Wexford county, holden at Enniscorthy, in or about the month of February, one thousand eight hundred and three, although this deponent sent them the opinion of counsel of the first character, Mr. Saurin, the present Attorney General of Ireland, that the question could not be legally tried in that county: and this deponent further saith, that the chairman of the said session having refused to try the case on the ground of that court having no jurisdiction, this deponent was nevertheless served with another process for the next session for the county of Wexford, and given to understand, that similar successive attempts would be made, whereupon this deponent by the advice of his counsel signed a consent to try the question in the Court of Exchequer and put in a plea accordingly; and the cause coming on to be tried in the said Court of Exchequer, the Judges of that Court quashed the proceedings with strong terms of censure on the waste of the charity fund upon so unjust a pursuit; and this deponent further saith, that having failed in the before mentioned modes of proceeding, they, with a view of destroying his military prospects, sent over a most false and malicious statement to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, which was handed to his Royal Highness by the said Lord Kingston, and supported by his own personal misrepresentations; but his Royal Highness caused such representations to be communicated to this deponent, through Major General Lord Paget, then commanding the cavalry in the district where this deponent was quartered, and a reference to Marquis Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh, produced the following official letters from his Highness's Secretary:

"Horse Guards, October 12, 1803.

My Dear Lord—I have received the commander in chief's directions to inform your Lordship, that the result of a reference made to the persons in whose hands the Government of Ireland was vested at the time when the transactions alluded to in my confidential letter of the 1st instant to your Lordship, respecting captain Philip Hay of the 18th Light Dragoons, as stated to have occurred, has proved so satisfactory both in regard to the character and principles of that

officer, as to afford his Royal Highness the fullest conviction that the insinuations against him are unfounded; and his Royal Highness commands me to desire that your Lordship will take the earliest opportunity of communicating the same to captain Hay. I remain, my dear Lord, with great regard, your very faithful obedient servant,

HENRY CALVERT, A.G.

M. G. Lord Paget, etc., etc., etc."

"Horse Guards, 12th October, 1803.

My Lord—I have had the honor to submit to the commander in chief your Lordship's letter of the 9th instant, transmitted to me by captain Philip Hay of the 18th Light Dragoons.—The favourable testimony therein borne by your Lordship to the character and principles of that officer, has proved perfectly satisfactory to the commander in chief, and afforded his Royal Highness full conviction that the insinuations thrown out against him are entirely groundless. I have by his Royal Highness's commands signified the above, by this night's post, to M. Gen. Lord Paget, for the information of captain Hay, and have done myself the honor to make this communication to your Lordship, conceiving you would wish to be made acquainted with the result of the interest you have taken in behalf of captain Hay. I have the honor to be, with much respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

HENRY CALVERT, A.G.

Gen. The Marquis Cornwallis, K.G., etc., etc."

And this deponent further saith, that Lord Castlereagh, who, from his situation in Ireland was particularly well acquainted with all the circumstances relating to this deponent's situation with the rebels, having been about this time in London, waited personally on his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and explained to him the infamy of the representations which had been made against this deponent by the said Earl Kingston and his colleagues: and this deponent further saith, that in the early part of the year, one thousand eight hundred and five, he heard that fresh representations had been made to Lord Cathcart and to the Government of Ireland, to this deponent's disadvantage; and that on this occasion, the said Earl of Kingston had again taken active steps to raise doubts to this deponent's prejudice, with a view to obstruct this deponent's professional advancement, and render him a suspected person: and this deponent further saith, that before and since the year one thousand eight hundred and five and down to the meeting between this deponent and the said Earl in October last, the said Earl has, as this deponent has been informed, by persons of the highest honour and veracity on various occasions, traduced the character of this deponent, by representing him as a rebel, and saying a Hangman was the only person fit to meet this deponent, or to that effect; and this deponent has heard that the said Earl has stated his determination to ruin this deponent's character, or to that effect, all which this deponent believes to be true; but this deponent was dissuaded from instituting any proceedings or taking any steps against the said Earl in respect of his aforesaid calumnies while the powers of the board of commissioners of compensation for suffering loyalists were in force, as this deponent had been informed that the said Earl had repeatedly stated he was to be the principal witness against this deponent: and this deponent further saith, that the slander of the said Earl against this deponent was by no means the consequence of the compensation this deponent received as a suffering loyalist; for that long before the act of compensation passed, the said Earl, as this deponent is informed and believes imputed to this deponent in an Ante-room at Dublin Castle, the having headed the rebels at the battle of

Gore's Bridge, and having been instrumental to their success on that occasion; and that addressing himself to the late Lord Ely who was acquainted with this deponent, the said Earl Kingston in the presence of several persons there, named this deponent as the person referred to, when the said Lord Ely told the said Earl Kingston that he must have been misinformed, for that this deponent had dined with the said Lord Ely in Dublin on the very same day when that battle took place; and this deponent believes he did so, and positively denies he was at any battle at or near Gore's Bridge: and this deponent further saith, that the powers of the said commissioners ceased in the spring of the year one thousand eight hundred and six, from which time till the month of September, one thousand eight hundred and seven, this deponent was detained in Ireland with his regiment, and had no opportunity of seeing the said Earl: and this deponent further saith, that he believes some such meeting of magistrates took place as is mentioned in the affidavit of the said Earl; but this deponent did not know any thing of the said letter of the second February, one thousand eight hundred and three, until he saw it in the affidavit of the said Earl, save that this deponent knew certain of the magistrates of the said county of Wexford, many of whom he believes to have been the very persons who occasioned his trial, and furnished the evidence for the prosecution before the said court martial, in one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, had endeavoured to force this deponent to refund the compensation he received as before set forth; and this deponent denies having evaded the investigation of his right to obtain compensation as stated in the affidavit of the said Earl: and this deponent in vindication of his character against this further calumny of the said Earl, begs to set out a copy of a letter he received in January, one thousand eight hundred and five, from Peter Burrowes, Esq., one of his Majesty's counsel, who was the counsel of this deponent, which is in the following words:—

“4th January, 1805—Leeson-street.

Dear Sir—I received your letter, together with copies of the letter of the commissioners of suffering loyalists, and of Gen. Payne, and consulted your other counsel as to the expediency of your complying with the desire of the commissioners, by consenting to a trial before the Recorder upon the 20th instant. We are all of opinion, that you ought not to enter into such consent or to do any act to facilitate this most vindictive and unprincipled prosecution which ever occurred in my experience, no doubt if the body to which you belong should think otherwise, you will comply with their opinions and feelings; but I think it is not likely that any unprejudiced man of honorable feelings would think the worse of you for availing yourself of every legal protection against this most vindictive proceeding, the commissioners who ought to be trustees of the fund for relieving suffering loyalists, but who have become instruments of the implacable bigotry of a party who have made a statement which the slightest investigation would expose as false and uncandid. They do not say that before you received your compensation you disclosed the fact of having been accused of and tried for treason, but they insinuate the contrary—they ascribe the failure of the process in Enniscorthy to the absence of the chairman, when they know that your counsel denied the jurisdiction of the chairman to try it, and sent in an opinion of Mr. Saurin to that effect to the commissioners, to prevent the fruitless waste of money, by expensive efforts to try it in a prejudiced country, which the commissioners refused to attend to, they misrepresent the nature of the proceedings in the Court of Exchequer. I avow having advised you to sign that consent, and I did so, because it was avowed on the part of the prosecution that they would force you to the expense of going again to Enniscorthy, where the

question could not be legally and finally decided unless you entered into such consent, and I assert that you fully complied with the consent, and that the court quashed the proceedings, not upon any formal objection, but because they would not try such a question; and if Lord Avonmore be resorted to, he will, I have no doubt, confirm my statement. Even if you were to consent to a trial, no court would, under the circumstances, refuse you any length of time you might ask for preparation; yet these gentlemen call upon you to be prepared by the 20th instant, under such circumstances I should think the commander in chief would not interfere to prevent you from defeating and obstructing this prosecution in any way you can. It occurs to me that the commissioners in pressing for an investigation of what was so solemnly decided by so respectable a court martial, insult that jurisdiction by impliedly saying that their unanimous decision upon an enquiry, when the facts were recent, ought to have no weight. It never was heard, that a man so tried and acquitted, should at the end of six years be forced again to prove his innocence, after the death of many, and the dispersion of most of his witnesses. I have spoken to almost every legal man in Ireland of character, and to many of the judges, and never met one man who did not highly condemn the proceeding; so that I persevere in advising you not to give it any facility.—Yours truly,

P. BURROWES."(1)

And this deponent further saith, that about the eighth of October last, this deponent, accompanied by captain Hughes and lieutenant Carew of the 18th Dragoons, called at the house of the said Earl, when he was informed that the said Earl was from home but expected shortly to return, and that after they had left the said house they met the said Earl in company with another gentleman (who this deponent has since learnt was Mr. Powell) in Devonshire-street; and this deponent thereupon went up to the said Earl and accosted him saying, I believe I speak to Lord Kingston, to which the said Earl answered you do,

(1) Peter Burrowes, the eminent lawyer, Captain Hay's Counsel in the above case, was born at Portarlinton in 1753. He entered Trinity College in 1774, and distinguished himself both as a student and as a member of the Historical Society. In 1784 he was resident in the Middle Temple, and produced a pamphlet advocating the right of Irish Roman Catholics to parliamentary suffrage, which gained him the friendship of Flood and other eminent politicians of the day. Next year he was called to the bar, comparatively late in life, but his rise was remarkably rapid. In 1794 he fought a duel with the Hon. Somerset Butler, and his life was saved by his adversary's bullet flattening itself on some coppers which it struck in his waistcoat pocket. When the rebellion of 1798 broke out, his brother, a clergyman, residing in the county Wexford, was murdered by the insurgents; but this in no way lessened Burrowes's opposition to the Union; and he was one of the fourteen King's Counsel who attended the bar meeting in Dublin to protest against it on December 9th, 1798. In the following year he was elected member for Enniscorthy, and took a very active part in the proceedings of the moribund Parliament. An intimate friend of the Emmet family, he was Robert's counsel in 1803. His earnings at the bar reached £7,000 a year, and he was trusted by all parties. In 1821 he retired on a judgeship, which he held for twenty years, dying in 1841, aged 88. In early life he was very active and thought little or nothing of walking from Dublin to Portarlinton, a distance of forty miles, in one day, and dancing at a ball after his arrival.

and thereupon the said Earl asked this deponent who it was that was addressing him, to which this deponent replied, I am Captain Hay of the 18th Light Dragoons, and these gentlemen (pointing to Captain Hughes and Mr. Carew) are brother officers of mine; and this deponent thereupon stated to the said Earl, that he wished to have some conversation with him in their presence on a subject relating to himself, and asked the said Earl if he would like to adjourn to some more retired place than the street; whereupon the said Earl remarked that the street would do well enough, or to that effect; and this deponent then observed that he, this deponent, had been credibly informed by several persons, that his Lordship had in several places traduced the character of this deponent, and this deponent wished to hear, and that those gentlemen should also hear what his Lordship had to say respecting it, when the said Earl replied, I will tell you, and proceeded to state, that on hearing that this deponent had received his claim as a suffering loyalist, he the said Earl did every thing in his power in conjunction with the before-mentioned magistrates and commissioners to have this deponent brought to trial for the swindling transaction this deponent was guilty of in receiving such compensation; whereupon this deponent replied, that he did not want to know what his Lordship had done in conjunction with the said magistrates or commissioners, being sufficiently acquainted with their exertions already, or to enter into any invective, but that he required an explanation from the said Earl of the language this deponent was told he had so frequently made use of to the prejudice of this deponent's character, and an apology for his observation of the moment before, alluding to his expression of swindling, when the said Earl replied he would give or make none, that he had been to his Royal Highness the Duke of York to state this deponent's conduct; and that, in his, the said Earl's opinion, the only person fit to deal with this deponent was the Hangman, and that he had made use of the same expression some time back to this deponent's colonel, or to such effect; whereupon this deponent being considerably irritated, told the said Earl it was very immaterial to this deponent what the said Earl could say, that what he had then expressed was of apiece with the rest of his conduct, and as false and malicious as every other statement he had made; and this deponent then said to the said Earl, I now demand that satisfaction from you which is due from one gentleman to another, when the said Earl replied, what do you mean captain Hay, do you mean this as a challenge, whereupon this deponent answered he did not conceive his language required elucidation, but if the said Earl did not understand it, this deponent certainly meant to challenge him, or to that effect; whereupon the said Earl replied, I will not meet you Captain Hay, I do not consider you a fit person to meet, as you evaded appearing before a jury of your country to answer the swindling transaction you have been guilty of in receiving compensation as a suffering loyalist, when you were in fact a rebel, and I shall wait upon the Duke of York and state your conduct to him, and I shall prosecute you for the challenge you have given me, or to that effect: And this deponent saith, that he thereupon replied to the said Earl, I have nothing more to say to you, I found you in infamy and I leave you where I found you: and this deponent further saith, that although other conversation passed, in which the said Earl contradicted himself the precise course of what this deponent is not able to detail with accuracy, this deponent is confident he said nothing to the said Earl either amounting to or imparting a challenge or demanding satisfaction, until he the said Earl had given him abuse instead of explanation, and used the words swindling and hangman, in the manner before set forth: and this deponent further saith, that the said captain Hughes was as this deponent believes

at or near St. Asaph in Wales, when the rule was moved for against this deponent, and this deponent immediately wrote to the said captain Hughes, requesting him to come to London, but this deponent has not heard from the said Captain Hughes in answer to his said letter, nor does he believe that the said captain Hughes is now in or near London. Sworn in Court, this twenty-seventh day of November, 1807—Philip Hay. (By the Court.)

IN THE KING'S BENCH.

The Hon. Charles William Stewart, of Berkley Square, in the county of Middlesex, colonel in the army, and lieutenant colonel of his Majesty's eighteenth regiment of light dragoons, maketh oath and saith: That he hath known captain Philip Hay, of Ballenkeele Castle, in the county of Wexford, for the space of seven years or thereabouts, but particularly since he came into the regiment commanded by this deponent, in which the said Philip Hay is, and has been for above four years last past a captain: And this deponent hath also known the Right Hon. George Earl of Kingston for many years last past: and this deponent further saith, that he hath heard and believes that the said captain Philip Hay was made prisoner by the rebels at Wexford, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight; and that the said Earl was also a prisoner at the same time, and that the said captain Philip Hay was afterwards tried by a court martial, for being in the rebellion, and was honorably acquitted: and that he afterwards applied for and received compensation for his loss as a suffering loyalist: and this deponent further saith, that he knows the said Earl hath frequently accused the said captain Philip Hay of having committed acts of rebellion, and stated that he was an unfit person to hold a commission in his Majesty's army; and the said Earl hath in several interviews with this deponent, represented the said Philip Hay as a rebel; and in particular, this deponent recollects that the said Earl met this deponent in Dublin, some time in or about the spring of the year, one thousand eight hundred and four, when the said Earl accosted this deponent, and asked him if his (meaning ironically the said Earl's) friend Hay was in Dublin, whereupon this deponent replied he did not know, or to that effect: and the said Earl thereupon replied, that the said Philip Hay would not come to Dublin whilst the said Earl was there, as he should bring him to trial for the compensation, the said Philip Hay had so improperly received as a suffering loyalist while he was a notorious rebel; and the said Earl made use of other strong expressions equally injurious to the character of the said Philip Hay; and further observed, that he, the said Earl, would prosecute him to the extent of his life and fortune, or to that effect: and this deponent further saith, that upon another occasion, about two years and a half since, this deponent met the said Earl at the house either of his Lordship or Sir Eyre Coote at dinner, when his Highness the now Duke of Gloucester was also present; and the said Earl then introduced the subject of captain Hay's conduct after dinner, before the whole party, and represented him as a disloyal subject, and stated that he had received compensation as a suffering loyalist, when in fact he was a rebel; and the said Earl upon that occasion went into a long strain of accusation against the character and loyalty of the said Philip Hay, the whole tenor of which was to convey an impression that the said Philip Hay was a traitor; and that the said Earl stated, that had he come forward against the said Philip Hay when he was tried by the court martial, he could have given or procured evidence that would have convicted him, or to that effect, but that he had refrained from so doing, because a brother of the said captain

Hay had saved his life, or to that effect; and this deponent further saith, that he considered the latter observation of the said Earl to have referred to evidence he procured while a prisoner at Wexford; and this deponent further saith, that upon a third occasion, about the spring of the present year he met the said Earl near Charing Cross, when the said Earl accosted him, and asked if the said captain Philip Hay was still in his regiment, and the said Earl then renewed his representation against the said captain Hay, of being a rebel and a traitor, and that he feared to come forward and be tried by the commissioners for settling the claims of loyalists in Ireland; and the said Earl then remarked, that Hay was a man of such character that he the said Earl would not meet him if he were to challenge his Lordship, but that he would meet any man who was the bearer of a challenge from the said captain Hay, or to that effect: and this deponent further saith, that as colonel of the regiment in which the said Philip Hay was captain, he felt it necessary to inform captain Hay of the several representations made to him by the said Earl respecting his character: and this deponent further saith, that from the general tenor of captain Hay's conduct since he has known him in the regiment, this deponent believes the said captain Hay to be a good and loyal subject, and a meritorious officer in his Majesty's service. Sworn in Court, this 27th day of November, 1807—Charles Stewart. (By the Court.)

Carbery Topographical Notes.

[In Professor Butler's recent very interesting article on the Barony of Carbery, he refers to the MacCarthy Reagh Inquisition of 1636. Most of the places mentioned in this Inquisition can still be readily identified. The more obscure or difficult names in it form the subject of the present Carbery Notes.]

Carnebegg-Cnoriske. This rendering is a misprint for Carnebegg-huoriske, i.e. *Carh beaz uí h-úairisce* (the small pile of the O'Houriskey). The O'Houriskeys were a Lugadian sept (see "Celtic Miscellany," p. 29). The place is now called Corran Beg, parish of Kilmoe.

Balline Mac Cragh. In the grant to the Clanloughlin O'Donovans it is *Baltine Mac Cragh oughtragh*, i.e., *Bailín mhic Cnárta uachtaríad* (the upper little town of Mac Grath). It is now Balteen, parish of Kilmoe. MacGrath is Lugadian (see "Celtic Miscellany," pp. 11, 13, 45, 57, 59).

Carren-Iglavine, i.e., *Carh uí Ílaimhín*, (the pile of O'Glaveen). The Glavins were stewards of the O'Mahonys. A few of the name still live in Kilmoe. The "Carbriæ Notitia" refers to Carrig-o-glaveen, or the Mizen Head. The old Irish name of the Mizen Head was *Carh uí Néid*, and the Four Masters speak of it as the Carn of Breas, son of Ealathia, son of Ned. Ned was the progenitor of nearly all the Tuatha-de-Danaan nobility. Carniglavine is now called Cahir, parish of Kilmoe.

Lackin-mac-ea, i.e., *Leacan mhic Uíóda*, is now Lackenakea, parish of Kilmoe.

Slught-Fahy, i.e. *Slíocht fathad* (Race of Fathad). The Genealogy of Corca Laide mentions the *Clann Fathad* ("Celtic Miscellany," pp. 10, 11). They were descended from Fathadh Og. O'Driscoll. There is a Lisfahy in Castlehaven parish.

Collybeg (*Cotluíge beaz*). The name still survives in the parish of Aughadow. Dr. O'Brien says *Cotluíge* is a corrupt contraction of *Corca laíge*.

Torcke is of course Turk Head. *Եզնի Եայր* (Boar's Head).

Innyshyduskots is perhaps a mistranscription for Innisodriscoll, i.e., *Դիւր ալ Ի-Յիւրիւրեօն*, now Hare Island.

Innyskaine is the Skeam's Islands.

Knockycullen, i.e., *Կոռ 4' Յսլլոյն*, i.e. Hollyhill, which is the modern name (par. Aughadown).

Killymanavane. In the Ordnance Survey this is written Kilnamoravawn. It is in the townland of Ardrally, par. Aughadown. The former would be *Ելլ դա մանաճ մ Բան* (church of the White Friars). The latter would be *Ելլ դա մարԲան* (church of the corpses).

Curny Comnerty is Coolnaconarty (*Ըլ դա Կոնարտաճ*, nook of the pack of hounds) in the parish of Kilmeen.

Twoventirrydorcke. Professor Butler errs in thinking this a misprint for Muintir-Bhaire. It is *Եւաճ Կիւիւրի ալ Ծոյր*, i.e., the tribal land of the O'Doirc people. The O'Durks were an old Lugadian sept. (See "Celtic Miscellany," pp. 46, 51.)

Gortard, i.e., *Ծորտ 4րտ*, i.e., Highfield (par. of Creagh), which is its modern name.

Shanacourte, i.e., *Տան Ըյրտ*, i.e., Oldcourt (par. Creagh), as it is now called. There are ruins of a castle here.

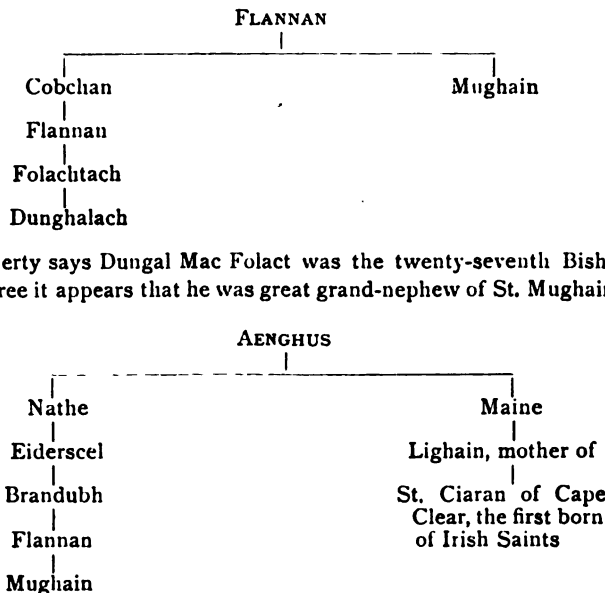
Ballymacerewane, now Ballymacrown, par. of Tullagh.

Ballylingshaghane, now Ballylinchy, par. of Tullagh.

Rynegcroggie, now island of Ringaroga (*Կիւղ դա Կուաճե*, Headland of the Rout).

Kill-woony. This is an interesting word. It is the *Ելլ Պուճայն* (Church of St. Mughain) mentioned in the Genealogy of Corca Laidhe, and it is the parish called Cell-mugana mentioned in a Papal document of 1199. It is now called Kilmoon (in Sherkin Island), where there is a holy well called *Ծոբար դա ՅաԲա* (the Smiths' well). St. Mughain was a virgin saint.

The following pedigree taken from the Genealogy of Corca Laidhe is interesting—



Rynedreolane. This name probably survives in Wren Point in Sherkin Island. (R̃iηη, headland: ʋneórlán, ʋneórl̃iη, a wren).

Curry-mac-Teige is now Curragh, parish of Abbeystrowry. I have heard old people use the former name.

Farren mac gully michill. In the Copinger grants (vide "Copinger's History of the Copingers") it is written Farrengilleevihil, i.e., ʋeap̃anη uí ʋjollam̃)ćl (the land of O'Gilmichael). This was an old Lugadian sept. They were wardens of the parish of Glenbarrahane (Castlehaven). One of them, the Great Vicar O'Gilmichael, was on account of his hospitality called Open Purse (see "Celtic Miscellany," pp. 49-51). The place is now called Farranagilla.

The Clanteigeroe were called the Cl̃anη ʋaíóʋ Rũaíó ηa Sc̃aíηce, probably from their having a castle at Scart. Prof. Butler is right in saying they also possessed Baurgorm Castle. *Baurgorm* was in Clanteigeroe.

Drome-Cwoarchie is Droumcorragh (ʋriom̃ cúηiηa), parish of Caheragh.

Lettirrtinbill seems to represent Lettertinlis, if so, the castle there belonged to the Clann-Diarmada.

Benduff Castle. Smith says this was erected by the O'Donovans. This is manifestly wrong, for the Four Masters chronicle that it was built in 1506, by Catherine wife of McCarthy Reagh, and daughter of Thomas (8th), Earl of Desmond.

The O'Dalys of Muinter Bhaire. Some interesting information about them will be found in "Dineley's Tour."

Professor Butler mentions the Castle of Aughadown, and such is no doubt marked on the Ordnance Survey; but it seems to be the site of a house belonging to one of the Bechers. I have been unable to find any mention of a castle of the O'Driscolls in Collybeg except Rincolisky (R̃iηη ćúrl̃ uíŋʋe) which eventually passed into the hands of the Copingers.

Professor Butler, I think, errs in identifying Touchet, the grantee of Castlehaven Castle with the Confederate Commander. George Touchet, Baron Audley, Earl of Castlehaven, was executed in 1631 for abominable crimes. A report of the trial will be found in the third volume of Cobbett's "State Trials." He was father of the Confederate General.

The O'Driscolls' Castles.—Dunashad (ʋúη ηa Séad, fort of the jewels) at Baltimore. Speed marks it as Castle Perles; Dunalong (ʋúη ηa lonʋ, fort of the ships, etymologically the same word as London), in Sherkin Island; Dunanore (ʋúη aη óiη, fort of the gold), in Cape Clear; Dunagall (ʋúη ηa η-ʋall, fort of the foreigners), in Ringaroga Island; Ardagh; Cloghane, on island in centre of Lough Hyne; Castlehaven (cũaη aη ćaíŋleáη); Oldcourt; Rincolisky, and Innisbeg. All of these castles were situated by the sea.

Bishop O'Brien, author of the Irish Dictionary, asserts that Ardagh, parish of Tullagh, was originally the seat of the once powerful Lugadian sept of the O'Flynnns-Arda. Dr. John O'Donovan repeats this statement in a note in the "Celtic Miscellany." Smith, however, says the O'Flynnns were settled in Ibane; and in a note to the Topographical Poems, Dr. Donovan hints that Ibane comes from Uí Baódaηiηa, which was the tribe-name of the O'Flynnns. Writing of the O'Flynnns, O'Heerin says:—

"The O'Flynn-Arda of the blooming woods,
A tribe of illustrious genealogy,
Every man of the sept is heir to the lordship,
These are the Ui Baghamhua."

It is well known that ecclesiastical divisions coincided with tribal divisions. Now

an Eccles. Taxation printed in the State Papers for 1302, mentions a deanery of the Diocese of Ross called Obathumpna. This seems to represent *Uj Baθaηηa*. The parishes comprised in this deanery were "Thamalage (Timoleague), Lislithig (Lislee), Croghargi, Kilmoludu (Kilmalooda), Nathrug, Disertrum (Desert), Dounaghmore (Donaghmore), and Killy."

O'Donovans' Castles. Professor Butler omitted to mention Castle Eyre (*Caipleán Iotháin*) in Listarkin, parish of Myross. It was built by Ivor O'Donovan in 1251. Ivor was a great trader, and there are many legends respecting him. The McCarthy Reagh Inquisition mentions the Slught-Ivrine, and the grant to the Clancahill O'Donovans mentions Castle-Iver. A small portion of it still remains.

Clanne-Enesles (page 188). So called from Aineslis, second son of Crom O'Donovan. This Aineslis had four sons, viz., Donagh More, Rickard, Walter, and Raghnaill (Randal), "who became the founders of four distinct septs who all bore the generie name of *Slucht Aineerliar thic a' Énoim* . . . The heads of this sept possessed a small tract of seven plowlands in the parish of Kilmacabea which bore the tribe name of Slught Eneslis Mac Icrim or Clann Eneslis Mac Icrim" ("Annals of Four Masters," Edit. 1848, App. page, 2438). The McCarthy Reagh Inquisition mentions the parcels of Clan-Eneslis as Mayny (Moynies), Killskohonoughty (Killscorhanaght) and Derryclohaghhightragh (Lower Derryclough). The Clancahill Inquisition (1607, A.D.) mentions its parcels as Bernyhuila (Bearnahulla or Butler's Gift), Muyny and Derryclohaghytragh. Now none of these are in Kilmacabea. Yet it is evident that they did hold some lands in Kilmacabea. The Regrant to Donnell Oge O'Donovan, Chief of Clanloughlin (1616) mentions, "one-third part of Cahirnibologie containing four gnyves in the Qr. of Kilmac Ibe in Slught Eneslis Mac Icrym; Cahirkaniva, half ploughland in Killekbeh, qr. in Slught Eneslis Mac Icrim; three gnyves in Brooley (Brulea) in Slught Eneslis Mac Icrim."

Slught-Ea, i.e., *Slucht Aetha* (Race of Aedh or Hugh). This comprised several townlands in the parish of Myross.

Twa Mac Dermody, i.e., *Tuath thic Djarmaθa*, the tribal land of Dermot's son.

Clainekenely. In the Clancahill Inquisition, written Clan Connellig (i.e. Connolly). The O'Connollys were of the same race as the O'Donovans on whom they were dependent. They held the Qrs. of Munnane, Lahanaght, Ballyvroig and Kinglyny, which formed portion of the Manor of Castledonovan.

J. M. BURKE.

Notes and Queries.

LOCAL HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, FOLK-LORE, ETC.

Contributed by E. R. McC. Dix: A RARE PROVINCIAL PAPER.

R.D. : HAKSHNESS OF CRIMINAL LAW PROCEDURE IN 1774.

J. C. : EARLY TELEGRAPH SYSTEM IN THE HARBOUR; THE OLD CUSTOM HOUSE OF CORK; A COUNTY CORK BARONETS CHANGE OF NAME; THE EXTINCTION OF GLASS MAKING IN CORK; RICHARDSTON CASTLE, CO. CORK; WILLIAM COOKE OF CORK.

A Rare Provincial Paper.—Can any of the readers of this "Journal" tell in what town was printed "Chute's Western Herald?" I have met with a copy of the issue for 26 March, 1805, but it gives no place of printing. I fancy it must have been Tralee or Killarney. Are there any other copies extant?

E. R. McC. Dix.

Harshness of Criminal Law Procedure in 1774.—The following extracts from the "Hibernian Magazine" for 1774 throw a lurid light on the severity and harshness of the criminal law procedure at that time in the sentences passed at the spring assizes in Cork, viz.: "Danl. Ahern, otherwise Clancy, and Thos. Fitzmaurice, otherwise Mahony, otherwise Lavee, for robbing Peter Culbert on board a ship on one of the quays of £3 13s. 1d., to be executed on Sunday, the 7th of May next. John Morrough for the murder of Michl. Kelly, and Eleanor Donovan for stealing plate and rings out of the house of Mr. Michael McDermot,⁽¹⁾ silversmith, both to be executed on Saturday, 11th of June next. John Kenny, for stealing goods out of the house of James Murphy to the value of 2s.; John Cavendish Maudesley, for polygamy; Danl. Fenn, for stealing goods out of the house of Mr. Alex. Martin value 4s. 11d.; John Bryan, for stealing lead the property of Richd. Burt; John Rush, for stealing goods out of the house of the Rev. Archdeacon Davies value 4s. 11d.; Mary Donoghue, for stealing a silk cloak out of the house of John Dale—all to be transported for seven years. Frederick Kelleher, servant to Mr. Wm. Rickotts, merchant, for entering his master's counting house by means of a false key, with intent to steal his money, to be publicly whipped. Elinor Morrison, otherwise Gerald, for stealing a brass skillet,⁽²⁾ the property of Wm. Kennedy, to be burned in the hand; and Danl. Brien, for manslaughter, to be burned in the hand.

"Last Saturday Frederick Kelleher was whipped from North to South gate, pursuant of the above sentence.

"Same day, John Rohan, who was capitally convicted in the County for the murder of Abigail Kennedy, was conducted, under a guard of the army and a number of gentlemen, to Middleton, where he was hanged and quartered, and in the evening his head was brought to this town and fixed on the South Goal," etc., etc.

(1) This Michl. McDermot was in business anno. 1857, pieces of his plate are of rare occurrence, a pair of table-spoons stamped McD are among my examples of Cork Silversmith's work.

(2) Three-legged skillets made of cast brass were largely manufactured by the Cork brass founders, and are now seldom met with. The handles were flat, straight, grooved and polished to correspond with inside surface of the vessel, and had either the maker's initials, or a capital letter and numeral in a space next the rim.
R. D.

Early Telegraph System in the Harbour.—The "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1830 records that a meeting has been held of the Harbour Commissioners of Cork, at which it was decided to establish telegraphs and a code of signals for the harbour. The plan adopted by the Commissioners will convey information thirty miles in the space of five minutes; so that as soon as a homeward bound or other vessel appears in view, leagues off the harbour, it will almost in a moment be known in the city. The signals are to be erected under the superintendence of the harbour master. The expense will amount to about £150 per annum. [The attendant expenses probably precluded this proposed system of telegraphy from being carried out.]

The Old Custom House of Cork.—In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for September, 1827, the following note occurs on page 264:—"A house in the North Main Street, Cork, No. 109, is known by tradition as the old Custom House of Cork. Some public building it doubtless was in the olden time, for though a coat of dashing has modernised its front, all the rear exhibits, by its massive walls,

arches, and stone window carvings, solid demonstration of great antiquity. Being lately under repair, Mr. Sainthill was induced to make enquiries respecting the old arms of the city which are boldly cut on a large thick block of limestone, and are in high preservation. They consist, as at present, of a ship between two castles, but the former lying broadside instead of in perspective as latterly. The only difference is, there being an eagle and a sailor in the rigging. Whether these really belong to the armorial bearings, or were the whim of the carver, will possibly be ascertained by a reference to the Herald's College in London and Dublin. The sailor wears the trunk breeches of Henry the Eighth's reign, and the form of the ship critically answers with one in a drawing of Plymouth Harbour in the time of Henry the Eighth. On the bracket that supported the stone are the letters I.H.S., which would scarcely have been used at a much later period. The Mayor of Cork has directed the stone to be inserted in the wall of his public office at the Mansion House." It would be interesting to learn if this stone still exists.

A County Cork Baronet's change of Name—In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for January, 1830, appeared the following obituary notice, which recalls the change of name in a family which still holds property in the county. "Died November 27th, 1829, at Great Oakley, Northamptonshire, in his 72nd year, Sir Richard Brooke de Capell Brooke, of that place, Colonel of the Northamptonshire Militia, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. The paternal name of this gentleman was Supple, he being the only child of Richard Supple, of Aghadoe, Co. Cork., Esquire, by Mary, daughter and heiress of Arthur Brooke, Esq., the descendant of an ancient Northamptonshire family. On the death of his father in 1797, Richard Brooke Supple, Esq., obtained a royal license to assume the name of Brooke, as directed by the will of his great-uncle, Wheeler Brooke, Esq., and, at the same time, to change that of Supple to de Capell—that being considered to be the original orthography of his paternal name. Philip de Capell, who went to Ireland with Robert FitzStephen in the time of Henry II., was rewarded with the estate of Aghadoe, Co. Cork, to be held by knight's service and the payment of a pair of spurs at Easter at Dublin Castle; and that estate, subject to the same quitrent, has descended in the family to the present time. To this family the island off Youghal, known now as Cable Island, owes its name.

The Extinction of Glass Making in Cork.—It having been erroneously stated in a leading Dublin newspaper, some months ago, that the extinction of Glassmaking in Cork and Waterford was due to English legislative acts, the following narrative of what seems to be the real cause of the decay of this interesting form of manufacture is that which appeared in the Cork press as supplied by a correspondent signing himself "Medicus," dated Cork, April 26th, 1890:—"Some forty years ago our city possessed three glass factories, employing numerous glass-blowers, glass-cutters, and labourers; and a gentleman who remembers the period tells me that one of the most interesting features in a procession got up in honour of O'Connell was the presence of a large body of the workmen of these factories wearing glass helmets made by themselves. So thriving was the industry that glass blown in England was actually sent to Cork to be cut. But in an evil hour a strike occurred; masters and men were equally determined; and manufacturers in Birmingham and St. Helen's, seeing it was their opportunity, sent over 'strike-money' to Cork, and paid the men regularly for two years. At the end of that period the English capitalists,

knowing that the owners of the factories in Cork were irretrievably ruined, discontinued the weekly payments, and left the unfortunate workmen to starve. Where now are our glass factories? Alas! in ruins. And where now are the misguided workmen? They, or their descendants, are scattered all over the globe; and though the glass-cutters alone numbered one hundred and fifty, there is but one of them this moment (i.e., in 1890) in town to tell of Cork capital destroyed and Cork tradesmen driven into exile."

[Strikes also put an end to glass making in Waterford. In Maguire's "Industrial Movement," 1853, are some very interesting references to glass making in Cork, which, under the heading of the "First Cork Exhibition," were republished in this "Journal," vol. vi., p. 30. In the recent Cork Exhibition, 1902-3, there was a goodly show of Cork made glass; whilst quite another form of glass making, viz., that of stained glass, is now being carried on by Messrs. Watson and Co. at Youghal.]

Richardston Castle, Co. Cork.—In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for April, 1832, appears the facsimile of a letter bearing the signature of Edmund Spenser, the immortal author of the "Faerie Queene," which was discovered amongst the Roche MSS. (now in the British Museum). The document is written on paper, no date is given, and the signature alone is Spenser's autograph. It runs thus: "Be it known to all men by these p'nts (presents) that I, Edmund Spenser, of Kilcolman, Esq., doe give unto McHenry the keeping of all the woods wch I have in Ballinganin, and of the rushes and braks, wtout making any spoile thereof, and also doe covenant wt him, that he shall have one house wtin the bawne of Richardston for himself and his cattell in tyme of warre. And also wtin the space of vij yeares to repayre the castle of Richardston aforesayd, and in all other things to use good neighborhood to him and his seal (apparently a griffin statant).—Ed. Sp'ser."

McHenry, the person alluded to in Spenser's letter, was a junior member of the Roche family, who assumed the name of McHenry, in order that he might be sui nationis capitaneus, i. e., chief of his name. The remains of Richardston Castle were in existence in 1832, one mile west of Doneraile, and about four miles from Kilcolman Castle, Spenser's residence. Does this castle still exist?

William Cooke, of Cork.—"April 3rd, 1824, died at his house in Halfmoon Street, Piccadilly, at a very advanced age, William Cooke, Esq., who was born at Cork, which city he left in 1766, never to return to it. He came to this country with strong recommendations to the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Richmond, Edmund Burke, and Dr. Oliver Goldsmith, with whom he maintained an intimacy throughout his life. Soon after his arrival in London he entered as a member of the Middle Temple, but after a circuit or two purchased a share in two public journals, and devoted himself chiefly to the public press. His first poem was entitled 'The Art of Living in London,' which met with considerable success. His next work was a prose essay, entitled 'Elements of Dramatic Criticism,' He then wrote the life of Macklin, the Irish actor, with a history of the stage during Macklin's lifetime, and he also wrote the life of the celebrated wit, Samuel Foote, with whom, as well as with Macklin, he was on intimate terms. Both of these works abound with anecdotes. By the desire of the Marquis of Lansdowne, then Lord Shelburne, he wrote a pamphlet on Parliamentary Reform, which contained true constitutional principles written in nervous language. His chief poetical work was a didactic poem, entitled "Conversation," first published in 1807, which reached a fourth edition in 1815. In this

later edition he introduced the characters of several of the members of the Literary Club, such as Johnson, Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Goldsmith, Wyndham, David Garrick, Boswell, Dr. Horsey, Arthur Murphy, and John Nichols. Mr. Cooke came of a long-lived family; his father was actually a class fellow with the youngest son of Dryden, and well remembered the funeral of that great poet."—"Gentleman's Magazine" for April, 1824.

J. C.

Review of Book.

"History of the Town and County of Wexford." By Philip Herbert Hore.
4to. London: Elliot Stock, 1904.

This forms the fourth volume of Mr. Hore's "History of Wexford," completing that of the Barony of Shelburne, and treating of the Fort of Duncannon, Fethard, etc., etc. It forms a most welcome and valuable addition to the list of our county histories, and shows throughout ample evidence of research, both in the skill of its arrangement and the careful manner in which the records preserved in the great public libraries and the State Paper Offices in London and Dublin have been availed of. These records, unique in themselves, contain contemporary accounts of historical events in the annals of our country from the conquest to comparatively recent times, and are of the greatest value and importance to the student of history and the general reader.

The volume commences with an account of the Royal Fort of Duncannon, situated at the confluence of the rivers Suir, Nore, and Barrow, in the harbour of Waterford, erected during the aggressiveness of Spain in Elizabeth's reign as a protection for the provinces of Munster and Leinster. Its historical records cover a period of 300 years, marked by many vicissitudes, and under a long succession of Governors.

In 1602-3 the then Governor, Sir John Brockett, left for England, leaving the charge of the Fort during his absence to his son, a lieutenant in the army. The father, however, never returned, as he was placed under arrest in London for treasonable practices and suspicion of coining. The depositions of several witnesses are given, with an account of the tools used at that time as instruments for coining which were found in Sir John's private desk. They consisted of "One tincker's mould, three pieces of brass of a piece of ordinance, whereof one piece was wrought and beaten out; two boxes containyng quicksilver, a pair of tincker's pynsers, a small instrument to carve, a file, a goldsmith's hamer, a pax containyng bone ashes, with two small pieces melted; a goldsmith's brush, and a hare's foot, a gilding pynn, a scrach, six stones of rock alome, a pax containyng sandwyer and saltpeter, a small bag containyng refined clay, a tuchstone, a silver spone, and a sledge." Sir John's defence was, that he only intended to coin Spanish pieces, and other foreign coin to be sent abroad, and not uttered in this Kingdom, and that such proceeding could not be considered an offence against the State, as it was designed as an injury to the enemy.

During the rebellion the Fort was defended by its Governor, Lord Esmond,

who sustained a two months' siege, which commenced on January 20th, 1645, and ended on the 19th of March following, when it was surrendered to the Confederate Catholics, commanded by General Thomas Preston, who, the same day, took possession of it, and found in it twenty-two battering guns, some of brass, but little powder, as it had been exhausted, but there was abundance of corn, cheese, and tobacco. During the course of the siege there was expended 176 iron balls, 19,000 pounds of powder, and 162 stone balls. The account states that there was little or no wine, as the besieged could not cook their meat in sea water and were obliged to use wine for that purpose.

The records of Duncannon are followed by the chronicles of the Parish of Templetown, or Kilcloggan, commencing with the charter of Henry II., A.D. 1172, shortly after which the Preceptory of Kilcloggan was founded by (Connagher) O'Moore for Knights of the Temple, on or near the site of the Church of St. Elloc, which dated from the end of the fifth century. It continued up till 1541, when it was suppressed and dissolved along with the other abbeys, monasteries, and religious houses in the county.

Fethard (Ἐθάρδ Ὄρειον, "high wood") is next treated. It is a town situated two and a quarter miles south-east of Duncannon, and is one of the earliest built towns of the Anglo-Norman colony in the county. Shortly after incorporation as a borough, it was granted for armorial bearings a Roman Soldier holding a shield *or*, charged with a Cross *gules*, in allusion to the supposed Roman origin of the Anglo-Norman chieftains. The castle of Fethard was for several hundred years that of the Sutton family, of whom Richard Sutton, Esq., of Fethard, received a grant of land in 1379, being the estate of Great Clonard, etc., to be held by military service for half a knight's fee. He was ancestor of the Suttons who emigrated to France and became Counts Clonard and Sutton. A list of the members of the Irish Parliament for Fethard from anno 1613 to 1800 is given, wherein Hugh Rocheford and Ns. Stafford, Esqres., were by an act of the house, 22nd June, 1642, found to be either in open rebellion or indicted for high treason, and were considered as "Rotten and unprofitable members of this Honourable House, and only fit to be cut off," and were expelled and excluded, and a warrant issued for a new election in their place. The Chronicles of Fethard commence in 1228, and are continued to 1798. Illustrations of the church plate are given, and represent a chalice, paten on foot; and flagon: the former has the Dublin date letter for 1639-40, and the inscription, "Calix parochialis Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis Templetown in Comitatu Wexfordiæ Ex dono Nicholai Loftus de Kilcloggan Armigeri, Anno Sulatis 1639," engraved with his family arms. Weight, 15 oz. 12½ dwt. The flagon is also Dublin, 1707, and was "The gift of Mrs. Margaret Thorold, a widow, to ye Church of FFethard, in ye county of Waxford, she being ye daughter of Nicholas Loftus, of FFethard, deceased."

This volume also embraces the history of Redmond's—now Loftus—Hail, Galgystown, the Parish of Hook, with its ancient tower and lighthouse, and concludes with that of the townland of Slade and its castle, and Baginbun Head, where there are good grounds for supposing Raymond le Gros landed; and, lastly, the history of what was the Corporate and Parliamentary Borough of Bannow. The book is profusely illustrated from ancient drawings (some coloured) and photographs. It is printed in a clear, distinct antique type, strongly and neatly bound, and, what is a most important adjunct to such a valuable work of reference, is fully and completely indexed.

R. D.



JOURNAL

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Kilmacabea, Co. Cork.

By J. M. BURKE, B.A., B.L.



THE present Catholic parish of Kilmacabea comprises the two ancient parishes of Kilmacabea and Kilfaughnabeg, and some townlands belonging to the civil parish of Ross, viz., Tralong, Ballyvireen, Ballinaclogh, Keamnabricka, Rowry Glen, and Killeenleigh.

The two parishes just named, Kilmacabea and Kilfaughnabeg, must be comparatively modern, as they are not mentioned in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., A.D. 1291, nor in the Taxation printed in the Calendar of State Papers, A.D. 1302. A parish called Drumfegna is mentioned in the earlier Taxation, which Dr. Brady in his "Records" suggests might be Kilfaughnabeg. But this cannot be the case, as Drumfegna was situated in the Bere portion of the diocese of Ross, and properly comes in between Kilcaskan and Kilnamanagh.

A manuscript of 1591 in Trinity College, Dublin, quoted in Dr. Brady's "Records," mentions Kilmacboighe, which is described therein as a "locus vastus." The "Royal Visitation Book" of 1615 enumerates

Kilmaccabee and Kilfaughnan; and in Bishop Dive Downe's Diary, 1700, it is recorded that Dermot O'Driscoll, Popish priest of Creagh, Tullagh, and Cape Clear, goes also to Castlehaven, which was the parish of John Connolly, the late Popish Vicar-General of Rosse—the same Connolly who served Myross, Rosse, Kilmaccabee, and Kilfaughnabeg. With regard to this Connolly, it may be mentioned that the Grand Jury of Cork County presented on August 13th, 1701, that John Connolly, formerly Vicar of Rosse, was still remaining in the Kingdom, contrary to the Act.

In Speed's map, 1610, scarcely any place in these parishes is marked, unless Doren is intended for Glandore. But if so, it is entirely misplaced. An unnamed river, probably the Rowry, is shown between the two promontories, viz., Donin (Downeen, parish of Ross) on the east, and Catts' on the west. The latter is perhaps the headland of Reenogreena, part of which is still called Carraig-na-gcat, or Cat's Rock. The Ordnance map marks there a disused graveyard, called Killcarrignagat.

The derivation of Kilmaccabee has defied the best etymologists; but Killfaughnabeg is, of course, Cill Fachtna beag, the little Church of (Saint) Fachtna, who founded the See and School of Ross.

The Genealogy of Corca Laidhe informs us that Tuat h-ui Conneid, i.e., an gartha, extends from Cean Mara to Loc an bricin, and from Midros to Bel an Ata Solais. O Conneid is its chief. These are its hereditary leaders, viz., O Muimnic, O Drocruaimnig, O Fuailcin, Ua Caingni, and Ua Duibconna.

Tuat Ruis, i.e., Tuat Indolaic, extends from Loc an bricin to Fiad Ruis; and from Traig long to Sed na bfear-bfinn. O'Laegaire is its chieftain. These are its hereditary leaders, viz., O'Ruaidri, O'Lonain, O'Laidad, O'Torpa, O h-Urmoltaic, O Mirin, O'Tuaraide, O Macdairic, O Trena, O h-Uanidi, and O Cerdin (vide "Celtic Miscellany," pages 50—53). These tuatha, or tribal districts, it is evident, included the parish of Kilmaccabee.

O'Conneid's district, we are told, was also called An Garrga, i.e., "the Garden," which is still the name of a fertile spot in the adjoining parish of Myross. According to the "Carbriæ Notitia," it is called the garry, or garden, from its being much better land than the rest of Carbery (vide Smith's "History of Cork," book ii. cx., and "Celtic Miscellany," page 51).

The western limit was Ceann Mara, i.e., head of the sea. Dr. John O'Donovan observes that this was the ancient name of the head of Cuandor, or Glandore, Harbour at O'Donovan's Leap. The context,

however, contradicts this. The place referred to is the pretty inlet of the sea near Rinneen, at the head of Castlehaven Bay, called Peicin na mara, which is still the western boundary of Myross parish. Of the eastern limit Dr. John O'Donovan writes, Loch an Bhricin, i.e., lake of the troutlet, as obsolete. The name, however, still survives in Loch a Vrikeen, a little lake on the eastern portion of Kilfaughnabeg, between Glandore and the river Rowry. The southern boundary, Midros, is Myross, "a townland containing the ruins of an old church in a parish of the same name, on the west side of Glandore Harbour." Of the northern boundary Mr. J. Swanton observes, "it is now Aughsollis, a ford on the river Ilan, to the west of Skibbereen." This is incorrect, as Assolas is a ford over the river Saivenose, in the townland of Dreeminida, parish of Drimoleague.

Tuat Ruis, the tribal land of Ross, was also called Tuat Indolaig, a name, according to the Rev. Mr. Quarry, still preserved, being that of "a rock in the bay of Ross, west of Galley Head, known to country people as Carragain Indolaig, or in an abbreviated form, Doolig." Its eastern limit was Fiad Ruis, the wood of Ross. This tuath was probably just to the east of Rosscarbery, as the western limit of the next tuath was Fearsaid Ruis, i.e., the sand pit, ferry, or trajetcus of Ross, which was the ancient name of the passage at the head of Ross Bay, over which the causeway now runs. Traiglong, or the ship strand, is now Tralong; and Sid na bfear bfinn, or hill of the fair men, according to Dr. J. Donovan, is Sheehill, meaning, probably, the Sheehy Hills, near Inchigeela, whose Irish name Canon Lyons states is Cnoc na segie.

In the "Annals of Innisfallen" this district (in which St. Fachtna was born) is called Ui luegaire Ruis. Ib luogaire, Bishop O'Brien states in his Irish Dictionary, is a district in the County Cork possessed till the late revolutions by the O'Learys, a branch of the old Lugadian race, whose first possessions were the ancient city of Rosscarbery, its liberties and environs. After the Norman invasion the O'Learys were driven to Iveleary, in Inchigeela, parish of Muskerry.

Many of the sept names above-mentioned have now become obsolete, such as Ua Tuaraid, O Trena, O Maicdairic, O Drocruaimmg, O Fuailcin (which Mac Firbisigh writes O Tuailcin), and O'Conneid, for which latter he writes O Cendidig, or Kennedy. For O Ruaidri he writes O Ruaire, which to Dr. John O'Donovan seemed more correct. The former form is still preserved, however, in a local name mentioned later on. O Caingni is probably Cagney; O Lonain, Lenane, Lannin,

or Leonard; O Torpa, Torpey; O Laidid, Leddy or Laddy; O Mirin, Mirreen; O h'Uainidi, O'Horney, anglicised Green; O Cerden, Curdin. None of these names now exist in the parish, nor indeed in West Cork, excepting Lannin and Leonard. For Ua hUrmoltaic the "Book of Ballymote" and MacFirbis have O Turmoltaigh, which is anglicised Tromulty and Hamilton. The latter name still survives here. O Muimnig is now Meany, and is still applied as a nickname to some of the MacCarthys living here. Ua Duibconna is now Doheny.

The "Annals of Innisfallen" state that in 1215 Barrett, one of the Anglo-Normans, who became very powerful in Munster in the reign of King John, built the Castle of Cloc a truga baile, i.e., the stone castle of Town Strand at Cuan Dor, i.e., Glandore. In 1261 Finghin MacCarthy, of Ringrone (so-called a loco occisionis) inflicted a crushing defeat on the English at the battle of Callan, after which their power in the South rapidly declined, and was all but annihilated during the Wars of the Roses. Finghin's policy was to cripple the settlers by destroying the strongholds they had erected to protect their possessions, and, amongst others, he demolished the Castle of Cuan Dor.

About this time new invaders appeared here in the persons of the O'Donovans, and their followers, the O'Collinses and O'Connollys. Driven from their ancestral homes in the County Limerick, they marched south of the Lee about 1178, and proceeded to carve out new possessions for themselves. John Collins, of Myross, the historian of the O'Donovans, asserts that at a period subsequent to this, Crom O'Donovan was in possession of Croom Castle, Co. Limerick, but according to the "Annals of Innisfallen," Crom was killed about the year 1254 by the O'Mahonys at Inis an beil, now Pheale, near Enniskean, Co. Cork. This Crom was ancestor of all the O'Donovan family of the County Cork, and of several others in Leinster. He gave a name to Gleann a Croim, in the parish of Fanlobbus, which afterwards became the property of a branch of the MacCarthys, who had their principal seat at Dunmanway, vide "Annals of the Four Masters," 1848, pp. 2437-8. Yet there was a Lugadian sept of O'Dondaman, or O'Dondubain, settled in Tuath O'Fihelly, east of Rosscarbery, according to the "Celtic Miscellany," page 55; and Dr. J. O'Donovan remarks that "It is highly probable a great number of the O'Donovans of the County Cork are of this family. The Hy Figeinte may in general be distinguished from them by the small hands and feet and a peculiar formation of the toes by which the race of Cairbre Aebdha are infallibly known to each other" ("Four Masters," p. 2483).

Crom O'Donovan had three sons:—I. Cathal, the eldest, a quo Clan Cahill, which means the families sprung from Cahill and the district occupied by them. They owned Castle Donovan, in Drimoleague parish, and Rahine Castle, in Myross. This Cahill never had any possessions in the original territories of Hy Figeinte or the Cairbre Aebdha, Co. Limerick. "He seems to have acquired a considerable tract of mountain territory in Corca Luighe, the original principality of the O'Driscolls, to which he transferred the tribe-name of his family, Ui Cairbre, which, by a strange whim of custom, was afterwards applied to a vast territory, now forming four baronies in the County Cork (*Ibid*, page 2439).

II. His second son, Aineslis, had four sons, viz., Donagh More, Rickard, Walter, and Raghnaid (Randal), who became the founders of four distinct septs, who all bore the generic tribe-name of Sliocht Aineslis Mic a Croim. . . . The head of this sept possessed a small district of seven plowlands in the parish of Kilmacabea, which bore the tribe-name of Slught Eneslis Mac Icrym, or Clann Eneslis Mac Icrim (*Ibid*, p. 2438).

III. Loughlann was his third son, from whom came the Clanloughlin referred to later on.

Cahill, the eldest, had two sons, viz., Teigue, his successor, and Imar (Ivor), also called Giolla riabac. The latter, according to John Collins, built Castle Ivor, now Castle Eyre, in Listarkin, parish of Myross in 1251. His clan, called the Sliocht Imair, Slught Ivryne, or Slew-Iryn, remained in possession of this Castle till the sixteenth century, when they were ousted from it by Domnal na gCroiceann (i.e., of the skins), chief of Clancahill, 1560—1584. Ivor was a great trader, and his magic boat appears every seventh year in Loch Cluhir, near which Castle Eyre stands ("Four Masters," pp. 2439—2441).

Aenghus O'Donovan, son of Conor, Chief of Clancahill, founded the sept who held the district of Gleann a Muillinn (Glanivoolen in the MacCarthy Reagh Inquisition, and Clanmoylan in the Calendar of State Papers), in the parishes of Kilmeen and Castleventry, and had their residence at Clasharusheen.

After the decline of English power here, the Castle of Traigh-Bhaile passed into the hands of the Clan Loughlin O'Donovans. "The Clan Loughlin," Dr. J. O'Donovan writes, "originally possessed a small territory of 36 plowlands situate between the river Rowry and Glandore." The chiefs of this branch, in order of succession, were (1) Lochlainn, third son of Crom; (2) Donogh, of Lough Crot, near Drimoleague;

(3) Cahill; (4) Diarmaid; (5) Donogh; 6 and 7 unknown; (8) Donnell na Carton, of Cloghatradbally, who died in 1580; (9) Donnell na Carton Oge, died 1629; (10) Murtagh Mac Donnell Oge; (11) Donnell Mac Murtagh, of Cloghatradbally and Rinogreny, who, resulting from the civil war of 1641, was attainted for rebellion. The attainder, however, was not carried out; and (12) Jeremy Donovan, M.P. for Baltimore in King James the Second's Parliament. He was a Protestant, and was appointed Registrar of the Admiralty in Ireland by James the Second (vide "Four Masters," pp. 2469 and 2477).

The MacCarthy Reagh Inquisition enumerates the following as parcels of Clan Loughlin, most of which are in the present Catholic parish of Kilmacabea, viz., Cappynybohy, Keamemore, Banfune, Ballenloghy, Slught-Ivrine, Cullane, Cullane killy, Ballynygorenagh, Criggantra, Twomealye, Killincally, Killbegg, Droummullihy, Maukemoryne, Carriglosky, and Aghytubrid.

In 1616 Donnell Oge surrendered his lands to the Crown, and obtained a re-grant. The following, amongst other parcels of land, are named in the re-grant—Aghetobredmore, Aghetobredbegg, Rushane, Carriglosky, Rinegreny, Carrowgarraff, Ballirerie, Keamore, Kippaghebohy, Knockskeagh, Drounmullihie, Inshinanowen, Killbeg, Mealmarin, Tooghmealhie, the Killeans, Cullane kelly, Banfune, Maulnagearha, Ballinloghie, the three south gnives of Curiturck, Droumullihy, one-third part of Cahimibologie, containing four gnives in the quarter of Kilmac Ibe in Slught Eneslis Mac Icrim, Caherkaniva, half parcel in Killekbeh qr. in Slught Eneslis Mac Icrim; Gortinahen, three gnives in Brooley in Slught Eneslis Mac Icrim; Classnecally, one gnive in said Brooley, Gortineduig, Carrigarehen, otherwise Carrigacaren, and Milnihelan. Several of these parcels were erected into the Manor of Cloghatradbally, with 500 acres in demesne, power to create tenures and to hold courts leet and baron.

An Inquisition held at Bandon August 14th, sixth of Charles I., omits some of the aforementioned lands, but specifies the following not included in the re-grant, viz., Milleenen, Cloniteishe, Dromtycloghie, Malegowan, Killcousane, and Gortyowen, and also Rynangadanaghe, between Maulmoreen and Tuoghmealy.

It is difficult to follow out the ownership of some of these townlands, for the re-grant of Donnell O'Donovan, of Clancahill, in 1616, grants to him Clouny, Mealgoone, Drometecloghie, and Killicoosane, which are stated to be in Clanloughlin; it also gives him Carren, Balliroe, Keamnabrickie, Classnecallie, and Tonebracke. Again, the probate of

the will, dated 1639, of Teige O'Donovan, of Drishane, second son of O'Donovan of Clāncahill, disposed of ten gnives in the quarter of Kilmacbie, called Cagher-Cairbrie, Cahernebologie, Carrighbane, in the qr. of Revolder, and the three qrs. of Dirireloge in qr. of Kilmacbie.

It seems impossible to discover where the septs of Aineslis were settled. The MacCarthy Reagh Inquisition mentions Clane Eneslis, 6½ plowlands, in Clancahill, and it names as parcels, Mayny, i.e., Moynies, Killskohonoughty (Killscohanaght), and Derrycloaghhightragh (Derryclogagh Lower). The Clancahill Inquisition of 1607 mentions that the Clan Eneslis hold of Castle Donovan the parcels of Bernyhuila (Bearnahulla, or Butler's Gift), Muyny, and Derrycloghaghyghtragh. None of these are in Kilmacabea, yet it is clear that they held some lands here, e.g., Cahernebologie and Cahir-kanwa, now obsolete.

Mawletrihane, Clonkeene, and Shrillane belonged to the Clandermott MacCarthys. Gortroe and Dungannon were held by the MacCarthys Reagh, and probably formed part of the demesne of the Castle of Bendiff, in the parish of Ross.

Towards the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century the Copeners, or Coppingers, descendants of a family of early Danish merchants settled in Cork, acquired large estates in West Cork by mortgage, purchase, or grant. The tradition in West Cork is that Sir Walter Coppinger was, in his younger days, valet to Sir Fineen O'Driscoll, Chieftain of Cullymoe; but this cannot be correct. Sir Walter first appears in local records as the mortgagee of the castle and lands of Cloghane, pledged to him by Cormac and Donogh, sons of the celebrated Sir Cormac Mac Teige of Muskerry, to whom they had been granted by Queen Elizabeth. In 1612 Murtagh O'Driscoll mortgaged to Sir Walter the castle, hall and town of Auld Courte, i.e., Old Court Castle, parish of Creagh. In 1614 Sir Walter surrendered his estates, which were duly re-granted to him. They included the Castles of Cloghane, Rincolisky, Kilfinan, and Lettartinlis, and lands in Clauloughlin, Clandermot, Collybeg, etc., including several townlands in the parishes of Kilmacabea and Kilfaughnabeg, all of which were erected into the Manors of Cloghanmore and Kilfinan. In the same year the King made a further grant to Sir Walter Coppinger of extensive lands, including the Castles of Dunbeacon, Dunmanus, Leamcon, Mounteen, etc. Sir Walter had also several dealings with the O'Driscolls of Baltimore, and he became involved in a great lawsuit about them, the details of which, it appears, have not been too accurately recorded by Smith, Gibson, Bennett, or Dr. Denis O'Donovan.

In 1618 the English inhabitants of a "Plantation in Carberie" petitioned the Privy Council for relief, reciting that Sir John Skinner, knight, deceased; Thomas Crook, John Winthrop, James Salmon and other English gentlemen had, in 1608, purchased several parcels of land in Carbery with intent to erect English towns; but divers Irish recusants, and chief among them one Walter Copinger, of Cloghane, had combined to oppose said plantation, and had by manifold unlawful means sought to banish the English settlers, in consequence of which Copinger and divers of his confederates had been censured in the Star Chamber, notwithstanding which Copinger, continuing his malicious and covetous desires, "has by many forgeries, champerties, maintainers, and other like corrupt and unlawful courses, for which he is as yet uncensured, gotten several pretended titles to all their lands."

Sometime in the early part of the seventeenth century Sir Walter built Copinger's Court (vide "History of the Copingers," 1885; Donovan's "Sketches in Carbery," and "Cork Historical and Archæological Journal," 1892).

The surname O'Donovan is still very common, if not the most frequent, in this parish, the various families being distinguished by sobriquets, such as *ruad* (red), *buide* (yellow), *donn* (brown), *na sgairte* (of the rough land), *stuacac* (boorish), *merigeac* (standard-bearer), *fiadan* (wild), *a gleanntain* (of the valley), *diabal* (devil), etc.

In an elegy written by Teige O'Cainte (Canty) on the death of Conor O'Connolly, harper to Donnell O'Donovan, Chief of Clancahill (1584—1640), the O'Donovans are styled *Curaid O Cuan Dor*, i.e., heroes from Glandore. The unusual Christian name, Raignall, or Randal, still survives among them.

The most distinguished native (according to the general belief) of this parish was Thomas O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross 1561—1579, whose surname is still not uncommon in Kilmacabea. Sir James Ware records, under 1552, that "this year died Dermot MacDomnaill, Bishop of Ross, the See being vacant for many years afterwards. But at last Thomas O'Herlihy, a learned man and educated in Italy, succeeded him." The immediate predecessor of O'Herlihy was, however, Maurice O'Hea, or Hayes, who was Bishop from 1569 to 1571. The Barberini Acts, in which he is styled Thomas O Hycellachte, Canon of Cork, record the date of his appointment as December 17th, 1561. The Corsini Acts refer to him as "Thomas Hierllahius, de nobili genere ex utroque parente procreatus, vita et scientia idoneus," and state that he was then present at Rome, where he was consecrated. After his consecration he pro-



REMAINS OF COPPINGER'S COURT.



ceeded, in May, 1562, to the Council of Trent, which was then sitting, the only other Irish Bishops that took part in this famous assembly being Donald Mac Gonigal, of Raphoe, and Eugene O'Hart, of Achonry. In the Acts of the Council Bishop O'Herlihy signed himself Thomas O'Verrlaith, Hibernicus, Episcopus Rossen (his name in Irish would be Tomas Ua h Iarflata). On his return to Ireland he was assiduous in carrying out the Decrees of the Council of Trent, until he was seized and imprisoned by the authorities. In Rothe's "Analecta," written in 1616, there is a notice of O'Herlihy, of which the following is a summary: Thomas O'Herlihy was born of the middle classes, in a thinly populated part of Carbery. On his return from Trent he was subjected to such persecution that he was compelled to take refuge in a solitary island near the coast (probably Dursey). Here he was arrested by O'Sullivan More's elder son, and brought before Sir John Perrott with a chain on his neck and fetters on his feet. This was in 1571. Conveyed to London, he was cast into the Tower, and confined in a windowless, fireless, and bedless dungeon. Primate Creagh was a fellow-prisoner with him. Tempting offers were made to O'Herlihy, provided he renounced his doctrines; but the prelate rejected every attempt at bribery. After an imprisonment of three years and seven months he was released through the influence of Sir Cormac Mac Teigue, Lord of Muskerry. On his release O'Herlihy determined to proceed to Belgium; but he was prevented by illness and old age. He returned to Dublin, where he was re-arrested and imprisoned till letters confirming his release arrived from London. He lived for a short time with the Lord of Muskerry; but the life in an Irish castle ill suited the prelate who loved prayer, fasting, and mortification. He hired a little farm in Muskerry, near "Densi Saltus," where he constructed a small house of twigs and wickerwork, roofed with sods, and cemented with mud. Here he spent a life of the humblest kind. During the long and devastating Desmond wars he tended the wounded and sheltered many a fugitive. On feast days he sometimes went to a neighbouring church, and on one occasion he exorcised an evil spirit from a young girl."

Philip O'Sullivan Bear writes of him in his "Historia Catholica" as follows:—"Of far different moulds were Miler Magrath and Thomas O'Herlihy, who was present at the famous Council of Trent. On his return to Ireland he too perished in the reign of Elizabeth. It is incredible how zealously he struggled against heresy, by administering the Sacraments, preaching, and ordaining priests. Long hunted by the English, he was eventually arrested and taken to the Tower. . . .

Thrown into his former bonds, he was long tortured with hunger, thirst, and foul-smelling darkness; owing to the filth of the place, his body was covered with vermin, and the soles of his feet were gnawed by rats. At length he was released, some of the Queen's Council thinking he was a fool or an idiot. I do not know if it be true, as I heard, that some of the Queen's Council were corrupted by a bribe from Cormac, son of Thady, Irish Chief of Muskerry. Freed from his chains, he for some years discharged his duty and accomplished his mission."

Dr. Brady states that in April, 1575, Bishop O'Herlihy had special faculties conferred on him by the Pope. Luke Wadding, in his notice of Kilcrea Abbey, notes that "in this place was buried, in 1579, Thomas O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross, who died in the district of Muskerry after a life spent in holiness, and after he had most resolutely borne many persecutions for the Catholic faith."

Sanders, the Papal Legate, writing in 1509, remarked that the Bishops of Ardfert, Killaloe, and Ross, share in all the privations of the camp; and ten years earlier, February, 1569, Sir Walter St. Leger wrote from Cork to the Lord Deputy: "The Bishop of Ross, in Carbery, was conveyed to Kerry by James Fitzmaurice, who intends to send him to Spain." Doubtless his intimacy with the arch rebel Fitzmaurice, whose sister was married to Sir Donogh MacCarthy Reagh, the then overlord of Carbery, led to the arrest, in 1571, of O'Herlihy, who was the last Catholic Bishop that held the temporalities of Ross.

The fact that O'Herlihy was a Canon of Cork, that it was through the good offices of the Chief of Muskerry he was released from prison, that it was to Muskerry he withdrew, and that it was there he was buried, would seem to show that he was some way connected with the O'Herlihy's of Ballyvourney. But, on the other hand, Bishop Rothe, who was partially his contemporary, states that it was in Carbery he was born.

A more recent well-known ecclesiastic, whose name is inseparably connected with this parish, was the Rev. John Power, who died in 1831, a saintly man, who is said to have effected many miraculous cures. He has been accorded popular canonisation; and on St. John's Eve every year large crowds of people pay "rounds" at his tomb in Rosscarbery. Father Power was for many years the pastor of Kilmacabea parish, in whose Catholic church a chalice of his is still used. Father Power, remarks Marcus Keane in his "Round Towers of Ireland," seems to have eclipsed St. Fachtna.

The two principal villages in Kilmacabea parish are Glandore and

Leap, the former of which has been celebrated in verse by the late Rev. P. Murray, D.D., a learned Professor of Maynooth College, and by Dr. Dan O'Donovan, the author of "Sketches in Carbery." In the "Annals of Innisfallen" Glandore is called Cuan Dor; and in the Genealogy of Corca Laidhe it is referred to as Dor:—Conall Claen, son of Gearan, son of Duach, had ten sons, five to the west of Dor and five to the east of Dor. Cuan Dor means the harbour of the oaks, or, according to others, the harbour of gold. Sir Richard Cox, in his "Hibernia Anglicana," states that the Munster rebellion of 1642 broke out in Glandore, where the rebels gagged several English to death, then seized a Scotch minister, broiled a piece of his flesh and forced him to eat it!!!

In 1851 a rorqual whale, 75 feet long, was captured in Glandore Harbour (O'Donovan's "Sketches in Carbery").

Leap was anciently called Leim ui Donnobain, i.e., O'Donovan's Leap, "from a person of that name having formerly accomplished a wonderful jump across the deep ravine near the village" (Ibid). The ravine is now bridged over. The little stream which flows through it is called the Cappanaboha. It rises in Ballinlough lake, and forms the boundary between the baronies here. The leap is frequently mentioned in old writings. Dymmock's Treatise refers to "the Country of Carbery on both sides the Leape." In Captain Flower's account of his march through Carbery, in April, 1600, we read: "From Rosse we marched over the Leape into O'Donovan's Countrey, where we borned (burnt?) all those partes, and had the kyllying of many of their chorles and poor people, leaving not therein any one grayne of corne within ten myles of our waye wherever we marched, and tooke a preye of 500 coves, which I caused to be drowned and killed for that we would not trouble ourselves to dryve them in that jorney. Beyond the Leape we stayed three days" ("Life and Letters of Florence MacCarthy Mor," page 242). Again, in Carew's account of his march to Dunboy, he writes: "The 26th (April, 1602), we departed Rosse over the Leape to Glanbreen" (i.e., Glenbarrahane or Castlehaven). It is also referred to by the Rev. Urban Vigors (1642), and in the diary of Ensign Cramond (see this "Journal," February, 1894, and July, 1896).

The principal river in Kilmacabea parish, the Rowry, rises in Corran lake, flows south through the little village of Cononagh, sweeps through the wild and romantic Rowry glen, where it forms a beautiful cascade, passes under Copinger's Court, and finally enters the sea at Millcove. The Rev. Mr. Quarry derives its name from O'Ruaidhre, the hereditary leader named above (see "Celtic Miscellany," page 89). The will of

James Copinger, dated 1665, mentions "two mills at Rowrie-bridge, built by Daniel MacShane O'Donoghue."

There are several lakes in this parish, the principal ones being Ballinlough, Corran, Adereen, Doolough (Dubloc), Knockskagh, and Clounties. "Ballinlough lake was formerly celebrated for its large red trout. It was also called Aghill Lough, aghill being a species of fresh-water eels, which abounded in it. Shell-fish are found in its waters, especially winkles similar to those found on the sea beach" ("Sketches in Carbery"). On the south-east corner of this lake is a large, high, cone-shaped rock, called Carrigeenrour, i.e., the thick little rock; and round the edge of the lake large boulders are strewn. Pike abound in Corran lake; and otters are said to frequent Knockskagh lake.

Lough Adereen, which is about two miles to the east of Ballinlough, had formerly a large number of floating islets in it. Patterns and fairs used to be held on its eastern side. This lake was, and is, regarded with superstitious awe for some unknown reason; and few, if any, ventured to angle in its waters.

ANTIQUITIES AND PLACE-NAMES OF KILMACABEA.

Aghatubrid (Acad Tioppaid), i.e., field of the well, is the townland in which stood the castle of Cloghtragh a bhaile, now completely modernised, and known as Glandore Castle. It lies to the west of Glandore, on the estate of the Barry minors; and is now occupied by Mr. D. MacCarthy, R.D.C. A little to the west of the castle stands the Protestant church, with an entrance hewn right through the rock. In this townland is the graveyard of Kilnafaughnabeg, with the ruins of the old parish church. There is here a tomb of the De Burghs of Kilfinan. The manganese mine in this townland is now disused.

On Mr. White's farm at Knockskagh, Cnoc Sceac, or Hawthorn Hill, about two miles to the north-west of Leap, there is a "lis," and at the southern limit of the townland, on a steep hill north of and overlooking Ballinlough lake, is the fine "lis" called lios an iarla, i.e., the Earl's lis, on Mr. J. Callaghan's farm. The surrounding ditch or fosse, now quite dry and all but filled in, was about eight feet broad. The mound is raised about five feet; the circumvallating dyke or rampart is about twelve feet high from the outside, and about seven feet from the inside. It is about ten feet broad. The inner side is formed of stones

closely fitted together, without mortar. The mound is circular, about 200 feet in diameter. The enclosure is full of irregular little earthen mounds, and contains several depressions. These mounds were probably the sites of buildings, and the hollow openings or subterranean passages, one, scarcely large enough to admit a man's body, being still open. These passages, according to the general belief, led to Ballinlough lake, and it is said that a dog which made his way into one of these passages emerged at length by the lake. One of the residents here informed me that when a boy he went down one of the openings, and made his way into a chamber in which he was just able to stand upright. There was an opening leading from this chamber which he was unable to get through. This particular "lis" was doubtless the residence of some powerful chieftain in ages long gone by. Its name is a very suggestive one, Lios an Iarla. Iarla is clearly a borrowed word, from the Anglo-Saxon *eorl*, or Scandinavian "jarl." In the "Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill" (1867), we read that the Danes spread themselves over Munster and built duns and daingheans and caladh-phorts; so that it is not impossible that Lios an iarla may have been erected by a Danish leader.

On Knockanenacrohy (*cnocan na croice*), or Gallows Hill, as it is now commonly called, it is believed that the celebrated Taduige dub O'Dubhan was executed. There are two lisses in this townland, one in the centre of a field on Mr. Rickard O'Donovan's farm, about sixty feet in diameter, and four feet high. The inside is about two or three feet high. There are still faint traces of the fosse. The other is on Mr. Jeremiah Crowley's holding, and stands in the corner of two fields, the fence between which runs right through it. Part of this "lis" appears to have been cut away by a little road which bounds the fields. The rampart is completely gone; the mound remains in some places six feet high, in others about eighteen inches. Its form seems to have been oval, and in its original state it must have been nearly as large as Lios an iarla. There are no traces of souterrains in connection with either of these lisses.

Corran (Carn, a monumental pile) has three townlands assigned to it on the Ordnance map, viz., Corran North, Mid Corran, and Corran South. Locally it is divided into Reid ban (white mountain flat), Corran-aveigh (Carn of the deer, or *na-bfiac*, of the ravens), Filedorrig (red cliff), and Corran. In South Corran, just to the north of Corran lake, on Mr. James W. Tobin's land, on a little peak, the highest in this part, is a fine cairn. The rock on which it stands is named Stuaicin a cairn,

i.e., peaklet of the cairn. It is about twenty feet in diameter at its base, is conical in form, and is formed of small stones closely and regularly fitted, reaching to a height of fifteen feet. Some of the top is now broken away, and the sides have been excavated by treasure-seekers imagining that there was gold buried under this mass of stones.

Reavoulder (Reavouler, or Reavouldera) is the most northern townland in this parish. The same root occurs in Carhoovouler, parish of Desertserges, which Dr. John O'Donovan says signifies Boulder's Quarter. It probably comes from Reid Balldair, i.e., Balldair's flat. Balldair ua Cobtaig is mentioned in the Genealogy of Corca Laidhe, page 59, and the Clann Balldair as sprung from Finn O'Driscoll (page 12). Dr. John O'Donovan translates this name as Walter. Walter was also a name in the O'Donovan pedigree. There are still families of O'Donovan (Bouldera) and O'Driscoll (Bouldera) in West Cork. There is a lis, I have been informed, in this townland of Reavoulder.

Ballyverine (O'Mirrine's land?) is in the south-east limit of the parish. Here stand the imposing ruins of Copinger's Court, built, as already stated, by Sir Walter Copinger in the first half of the seventeenth century. Dr. Smith tells us that in his time it was the largest house in Carbery. The ruins are still very imposing, though the floors are gone and the courtyard turned into a field. It is said that he intended to build a market town here, and turn the Rowry into a canal. If tradition is to be relied on, Sir Walter Copinger was a cruel despot, and the peasantry of the district will tell you of dark deeds, ruthless executions, and callous imprisonments perpetrated by him. The date of Sir Walter's demise is not known. The local belief is that he died of an apoplectic fit brought on by passion as he was leaving church one Sunday. The Court was pillaged in 1642, and little is known of its subsequent vicissitudes.

Carhoogarri (Ceathramad garb), the rough quarter, is in the north-east part of this parish. This rugged district is famous as having been at one time the residence of William Thompson, the Communist, whose story is too long to tell here. Of the round tower which he built for a dwelling-place here, called Thompson's Turret, Mr. J. Crowley, national teacher, informs me that "it was erected on the edge of a rock about 100 feet high, on the lands of Mr. Michael O'Hea. It was circular in shape, 35 feet in diameter, 30 feet in height, and had a conical roof. After Mr. Thompson's death it went to decay; the walls were demolished for building purposes; and only traces of it now remain. Thompson made a hobby of science, especially research work. He noticed, from a

crude analysis, that the composition of wood and bone were somewhat similar. So he formulated a scheme of building up the bones of living animals cheaply and rapidly by means of pulverized wood, straw, and peat. In order to test the value of his discovery, he procured a large number of pigs, which he fed entirely on sawdust, heath, straw, and turf, but to his amazement he found that the animals rapidly lost condition."⁽¹⁾ In this townland is a lis called Lios pairc na luacra, i.e., the lis of the field of rushes. It is about sixty feet in diameter, five feet high, and the surrounding wall seven feet high, with no traces of a fosse or of subterranean passages.

About two miles to the east of Leap, in the townland of Gortroe, near a ford over the Rowry river, is the little village of Cononagh, the nearest derivation of which I can suggest is Can na neac, the pool of the horses, as if there were here a watering-place for horses. Near it is a lis, of which Mr. James Barry, national teacher, has written to me as follows: "About 400 yards from the village of Cononagh (Co ata na neac, joint fords of the horses), there is a little 'fort,' called Liosin na n'arm, the small fort of the arms or armies. It is circular, and about 25 yards in diameter. The mail car road from Leap to Rosscarbery passes by it. In fact, part of the lios must have been cut away by the construction of the road. The enclosing embankment is about ten feet high, and is in perfect preservation. There also exist the remains of a fosse. The lis is situated at an angle of a large field belonging to Mr. David Jennings. This field is called 'The Bleach.' The tradition is that after the battle of Kinsale Colonel — coming from the east with the intention of reducing the castles which still held out, was met there by the MacCarthys, O'Driscolls and others. A fierce battle was fought in this field, which is over fifteen acres in extent. The slain were left unburied so long that the people gave it the name of 'the Bleach,' from the whitened bones of the unburied. It would appear that the victors—which side is not stated—forced their opponents to the lis, where they made a final stand, but ultimately laid down their arms, whence the name of the lis. Within view of this are two other forts, fairly well preserved, one on the top of a hill on a farm of Mr. John Lambert, of Barley Hill, the other on that of Mr. John Callaghan, of Inchinanune. The one on Lambert's farm was a beautiful construction. The entrance is lined with uncemented stones. Inside, at a distance of about twelve

⁽¹⁾A sketch of William Thompson, the Communist, appeared in the "Dublin Penny Journal," No. 49, March 7, 1903.

feet, are two niches let in at the side. To enter you must crawl in. Inside is an apartment about nine feet square, but you cannot stand upright in it. A dog in pursuit of rabbits here came out on the side of the hill about 440 yards away. This would show that the excavations extended much further than the boundary of the fort. The local belief is that this fort is connected with Liosin na n'arm by means of underground passages. The fort on Callaghan's land is small, and is used as a burial ground for still-born children."

Reenogreena, according to Dr. John O'Donovan, means O'Greny's headland, on which there is an old ruined signal tower. A steep cliff near it is called File a touke (Faile a t-seabaig), the hawk's cliff.

Tralong, Traig long, is the ship strand. A big chasm in the land here is called West Pouladav, Poll a Daim, i.e., hole of the ox, probably because cattle fell into it.

Cluain, often translated pratum by Latin writers, and rendered in English meadow or lawn, whose exact meaning, Dr. Joyce says, is a fertile spot of land, appears in the names Clounties (na Cluainte, the meadows), and Clounkeen (cluain caoin), smooth meadow. In the latter townland, on the farm of Mr. Florence MacCarthy, is a fine "lis," about 250 yards in diameter, whose enclosing rampart is nearly twelve feet high.

Meall, a hill, and its diminutive millin, appear in several names—Maulagow, Meallagoone, Maulatrohane, Milleenahilan, Milleenanimrish, Maulmoreen, and Maulnagirra.

Gort, an enclosed tillage ground, occurs in four townlands—Gortroe, Gortyowen, Gortnadihy, and Gorteenaduig. The Ordnance Survey map marks a "lis" in Gortyowen, named Lisparkatranna.

Cnoc, a hill, occurs in Knockmore, Knockaruddane, and Knockavoher (Cnoc a boitir), i.e., hill of the road. Botar, according to Cormac MacCuilleainain, signifies a road or passage of such a breadth that "two cows fit on it, one lengthwise and the other athwart; and their calves and yearlings fit on it along with them."

Carraig, a rock, occurs in Carrigbawn, Carrigeens, and Carriglusky.

Baile, a place, town, or townland, occurs in Ballyriree (the town of O'Ruaidhre, O'Rogers, or Rory); Ballinlough, in old grants Ballinloghy; Ballyroe, and Ballinaclough, which some now call Stoneville.

Even with the aid of native speakers, it is at times difficult to distinguish between Coill, a wood, and Ceall, or Cill, a church, churchyard, or burial place. Keelfaudeen, the Keel of little Pat, is marked on the Ordnance map as a children's burial ground. Kilfinan is probably the church of Finan. There were several saints of this name, the principal

ones being Finan the Leper and Finan Cam. Lewis's "Top. Dict." speaks of there being a castle here; and the Coppinger grants also mention a castle as having been here. Then we have Killeenleigh, Keelnacollie, Killacoosane, Kilbegg, and Killinga. In this last-named place there was a lis in a field, called Parknafoyle. I have been told that horses ploughing here have sunk into deep holes, probably subterranean passages.

Coil, translated by P. O'Sullivan Beare as *angulus*, a nook, occurs in Cooladereen and Coolnabro. Cregg means a rock; Tullig, a hill; Rushanes, a diminutive of Ros, a wood or headland; Coomshal, a low lying knoll; Inchinanoon, from Inse, a strip of meadow near a river; and Droum, from Drom, a ridge. In old grants this last is written Droumiticloghie, i.e., ridge of the stone house. Part of it is called Lackendota, i.e., burnt hillside. A little creek between it and Ahatubrid is called Goleen, i.e., inlet of the sea.

Ceam, a mountain pass, occurs in Keamore, formerly Keamemore, and in Keamnabricka. With regard to this latter place, Mr. James Barry, national teacher, writes to me: "On the side of a hill, just facing the 'lios' I have mentioned on Lambert's land, is a large white stone, weighing several tons, called the bric, from breac, i.e., speckled. It is split in two; and around it is band-dressed as if for an iron band. It has also distinctly marked on it the five fingers of an uncommonly large hand. The story goes that Oscar and some other giant had a challenge at 'casting.' The latter boasted that if Oscar could lift the stone he would cast it from the top of Carrigfada, where it then was, into the sea, a distance of five miles. Oscar not only raised it, but also threw it three miles, to its present position, and then challenged his opponent to cast it thence to the sea. Unfortunately, the concussion of Oscar's cast burst the stone. They then tried to put a band around it, but failed, so that the other giant's strength remained untested. The townland where the stone lies is still called Geim na bricc, from the roar, geime, which the stone gave out when it fell. The modern word, Keamnabricka, is a corruption of the older name."

Other place names here are Cullane, from Collan, a hazlegrove; Shreelane, a streamlet; Mealisheen, Shanlarig, Cappanabohy, the plot or clearance of a hovel; Droumillihy, Madranna, and Brulea, the brink of the calves. This latter touches the sea.

Three Gneeves is the name of part of a townland formerly called Coorthurcke, i.e., the boar's knoll. Three gneeves of it were granted to the MacCarthys of Gleannacroim. The re-grant of 1616 conveyed

to the O'Donovans of Clanloughlin "the three south gniues of Coor-thurck." These now constitute the townland of Three Gneeves.

Cashel, Dungannon, and Dunmore are place-names here which have well-known namesakes in other parts of Ireland; whilst Dunsillib comes from Scollb, a block of fir, or else a wattle used in thatching.

Among the inlets of the sea to the east of Glandore are Coosattarrif, or Bull's Cove; Coosafreeson, meaning Prison Cove, as it is now called; and Poultonaticane, i.e., the hole of the steep rocks.

An Old Galway Silversmith.

By ROBERT DAY, F.S.A.



SOME thirty years ago I met with a silver chalice in Dublin having marks upon it which were unpublished, and, so far as I was able to ascertain, unknown. It bore an inscription, "Pray for ye good intintion of Mary Gabriel Skerrett, who preserved ys Chalice and a vestiment for ye use of her Nephew, Fr. Mark Skerrett, 1732." Knowing that the Skerrett family ranked among the thirteen tribal clans of Galway, it was highly probable that the chalice was of local manufacture, and the anchor, one of its impressed stamps, the trade-mark adopted by the maker, whose initials were R. I. twice repeated; but so far, I had failed to ascertain his name.



A few months after, when on a visit to the Rev. Charles Laurence, of Lisreahan, Laurencetown, Co. Galway, this conviction was strengthened on finding among the family plate a silver cruet frame with the same anchor marks; and now, again, through the courtesy of the Rev. I. J. Ryan, President of St. Patrick's College, Thurles, I am enabled to describe a chalice which he most kindly brought for my inspection. It is $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, with a diameter at the foot of $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches; the cup is tulip-shaped, and is supported on an octagonal stem, with a correspond-

ing plain central reeded knop. The base is also composed of eight fan-shaped spaces, one of which has engraved upon it the crucifixion with emblems of the passion, while encircling it is inscribed, "Pray for Patk. Prendergas and his wife, Mary Ann, who ordered ys to be made, 1725," and below, upon a circular foot, an engraved floriated border of chevrons. It bears the closest possible resemblance to the Skerret chalice, and both have the octagonal form carried out in stem, knop, and base, upon which is the crucified Redeemer, with emblems of the passion, and around the foot a leaf-pattern engraved border. Both are clearly marked on cup and foot with the anchor and initials twice repeated. To discover, if possible, who this R. I. was, I consulted Hardiman, but could find no records of either a goldsmiths' guild, assay office, or any plate mark register, except that the arms of the Corporation of Goldsmiths occur upon a monumental stone in the Franciscan Friary, dated 1579, to Walter and Margaret Davin. But, upon a closer search, I was rewarded by finding in a footnote to p. 15 the desired information, contained in a most interesting and eventful biographical notice of a member of the Joyce family, of which Hardiman gives a historical account, and relates the following particulars:—

"Several individuals of this name have long felt grateful to the memory of William III. from the following circumstance. On the accession of that monarch to the throne of England, one of the first acts of his reign was to send an ambassador to Algiers, to demand the immediate release of all the British subjects detained there in slavery. The Dey and Council, intimidated, reluctantly complied with this demand. Among those released was a young man of the name of Joyes, a native of Galway, who, fourteen years before, was captured on his passage to the West Indies by an Algerine corsair. On his arrival at Algiers, he was purchased by a wealthy Turk, who followed the profession of a goldsmith, and who observing his slave, Joyes, to be tractable and ingenious, instructed him in his trade, in which he speedily became an adept. The Moor, as soon as he heard of his release, offered him, in case he should remain, his only daughter in marriage, and with her half his property; but all these, with other tempting and advantageous proposals, Joyes resolutely declined. On his return to Galway he married and followed the business of a goldsmith with considerable success, and having acquired a handsome independence, he was enabled to purchase the estate of Ragoon (which lies about two miles west of the town), from Colonel Whaley, one of Cromwell's old officers. Joyes having no son, bequeathed his property to his three daughters, two of whom only were

married, one to Andrew Roe French, ancestor to the late Andrew French of Rahoon, to whom, in addition to their own, the unmarried sister left her third; the second daughter was married to the ancestor of the late Martin Lynch, a banker, who in her right inherited the remainder of the estate. Some of Joyes' silver work, stamped with his mark and the initial letters of his name, are still remaining."

During the past year Mr. Dudley Westropp saw a chalice with Mr. Smith, of Wicklow Street, Dublin, which had been sent to him from Galway. It was dated 1730, and had on the base R.I. with the anchor, and on the bowl the initials M.F., as on the Lisreahan cruet frame. The association of R.I. and M.F. on this chalice is highly interesting, and suggest that it was made by French, who used with his own stamp those of his relative, or perhaps his predecessor, Joyce. Many examples of Cork seventeenth century plate occur, where the castles, ship, and makers' marks are used indiscriminately, as on some the initials only occur, while on others the castles are found without the ships, and vice versa. So in this doubly-marked Galway piece the stamps of Joyce were probably on the workman's bench along with those of French, and both were used, perhaps by accident, or, what is equally possible, Joyce had either taken his grandson, when out of his apprenticeship, into partnership or bequeathed his old-established business to him.

From this it may be safely inferred that the initial letters are those of R. Joyce, the Moorish captive, and the anchor, the emblem of hope, his trade-mark, bearing out Hardiman's statement that "the silver stamped with his mark and the initial letters of his name are still remaining."

In the National Museum, Kildare Street, Dublin, Mr. Longfield informs me there are three chalices with Joyce's R.I. marks, and inscriptions ranging from 1717 to 1721. The first has two marks on the cup and one on the base, with a star, which may have been a workman's mark, or one to guide the priest when administering the Sacrament. That for 1718 has the same initial marks on both cup and base, and the 1721 chalice has the same R.I. marks repeated twice on base and cup. The absence of the anchor from all these is curious, and can only be accounted for by the supposition that it was not adopted by Joyce until after 1721, as it is only found upon silver of later date, viz., 1725, 1730, and 1732

In 1784 an act was passed by the Irish House of Commons compelling all the provincial silversmiths in Ireland to register their names in Dublin, and we are, by the kindness of Mr. Dudley Westropp, enabled

to give a list of those who carried on their trade in Galway, the first name of which is that of Austen French, with George Robinson, Martin Lain, and Laurence Coleman in 1784; Francis Dowling and Michael O'Meara in 1785; William Leatham, 1786; and James Kelly, 1799. These probably used only the initials of their names in a stamp, but they most certainly did not use the anchor, which was, I believe, the family trade-mark of Joyce and French.

The examples of Galway plate so far recorded are:—

1. The Skerrett Chalice and Paten. R.I. and Anchor. Collection of C. J. Jackson, F.S.A.
2. The Prendergas Chalice. R.I. and Anchor. St. Patrick's College, Thurles.
3. Galway Chalice, 1730. R.I., Anchor, M.F.
4. Lisreahan Cruet Frame. M.F., Anchor.
5. Chalice repaired by Messrs. Egan, Cork, in 1902. R.I., Anchor.
6. Chalice dated 1717. R.I. Kildare Street Museum.
7. Chalice dated 1718. R.I. Kildare Street Museum.
8. Chalice dated 1721. R.I. Kildare Street Museum.

There is yet another chalice in the Augustinian Church, Thomas Street, Dublin, with a bold R.I. stamp, closely resembling that of Joyce, but the dated inscription of 1648 is too early, unless it was antedated when made by him.

The Archer-Butler Murrain Stone.

By ROBERT DAY, F.S.A.



UR Society is much indebted to one of its foundation members, Mr. Philip Crampton Creaghe, R.M., for the following letter, accompanied by a murrain stone, which he has kindly permitted to be illustrated in the "Journal." It is composed of rock crystal, and differs from those figured in the preceding number of the "Journal" (p. 157), which are of semi-opaque agate.

Measured round the outer brass rim the sphere is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in circumference, and is enclosed by a raised brass band, with, on each side, a trefoil border that tightly clasp it. This strap-work has a loop for suspension, and is continued cross-ways round one half of the crystal ball,

while the remaining half is unprotected, and shews the unbroken, polished and translucent surface of the stone. Mr. Creaghe's letter is dated Sep. 17, 1904, from Hougmont, Ballymena, County Antrim:—

"Dear Mr. Day—On reading your most interesting article in our last 'Journal' on 'Murrain Stone,' I felt so sorry that you did not know that I am the fortunate possessor of one which might have been included amongst those you mention. In case you may at any time further pursue the subject, I send it to you for your inspection. It has been in my mother's family for several hundred years, and my aunt, the late Miss Helen Archer-Butler, has told me that she remembers her father (my grandfather) lending it to farmers in all parts of the County Tipperary for the purpose of curing murrain in cattle. It used to be suspended in running water and the cattle were made to drink below it, with what result I cannot say! During her lifetime she gave this interesting old family relic to the late Viscount Lismore, of Shanbally Castle, Co. Tipperary (whose mother had been daughter of the seventeenth Earl of Ormonde), entirely disregarding the claim of our family! Lord Lismore promised me that he would leave it to me at his death, but entirely forgot to do so. Through the kindness of his co-heiresses, Lady Beatrice Pole-Carew and Lady Constance Butler, the old relic was restored to me, and I hope may be retained in my family. The Archer-Butler family is now extinct, none of my uncles having married, and my mother, who died last year, was their last direct representative. The family claimed kinship with the house of Ormonde, and descent from a junior branch. On the tombstone closing the old family vault at Bansha, Co. Tipperary, is the following inscription: 'Theobald Butler, Grandson to Sir Richard Butler of Knocktopher, deceased 20th March, 1672. Pray for his soul.' My grandfather and great-grandfather lived at Bansha Castle, but the former settled at Barnavilla, near Cahir, Co. Tipperary, and died there in 1827. —Yours sincerely,

"PHILIP C. CREAGHE."

Crystal spheres resembling this murrain stone were largely used in magic, and were also carried in the summer heats for imparting an agreeable coolness to the hand—

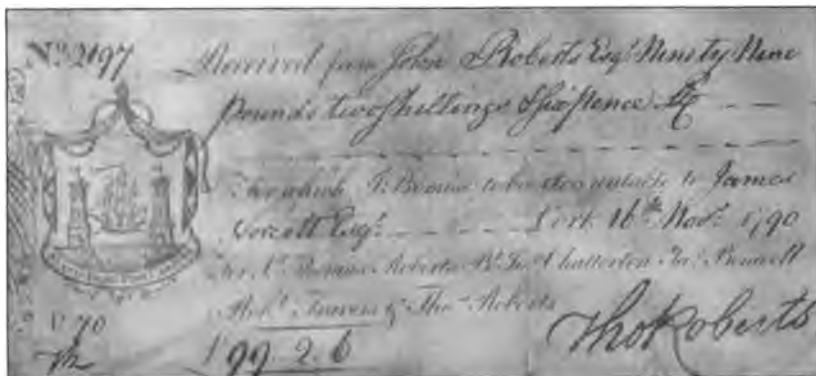
"Now courts the air with plumes of peacocks fanned,
Now holds the flinty globe to cool her hand."—Propertius, ii. 24.

And again, iv. iii.—

"O! what avails the Punic purple rare,
Or that my hands the limpid crystal bear."



THE ARCHER-BUTLER MURRAIN STONE.



RECEIPT ROBERTS' BANK, CORK.

Roberts' Bank, Cork.

By ROBERT DAY, F.S.A.



N referring to the earlier pages of our "Journal," (1) a notice will be found of this old Cork Bank. We have now the pleasure to reproduce as a historical curiosity one of its receipts, dated 16th November, 1790, which has been lent to us by Colonel Sir Howland Roberts, Bart., one of our foundation members. It will be noticed that the then senior partner was Sir Thomas Roberts, the eighth Baronet, under the old Glassenbury Patent of 1620, he being lineally descended (the first line became extinct on the death of Sir Walter, sixth Baronet, in 1745) from the Rev. Thomas Roberts, D.D., Chancellor of Cork Diocese, 1660-4, who was the second son of Sir Thomas, first Baronet of Glassenbury, Kent. Dr. Roberts, whose name appears in the list of Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, 1637 ("Particular Book," T.C.D.), married, as his second wife, Dorothy, daughter of Richard Boyle, Archbishop of Tuam; their eldest son, Francis, d.s.p., but the descendants of the second son, Randal, still continue the line; the latter's seal to his daughter's marriage settlement and to his own will bears the old Glassenbury arms. The ancient estate of Glassenbury is still in the family, being now the property of Major John Atkin-Roberts, J.P., grandson of Sir Thomas Roberts, eighth Baronet, above-mentioned, who, curiously enough, was re-created "Baronet of Glassenbury, Kent; Britfieldtown, Co. Cork, and of the City of Cork," on 20 September, 1809: hence Sir Howland (who for many years has commanded the "London Irish Volunteer Rifles," with H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught as honorary colonel) is twelfth Baronet under the old patent and fifth under the new.

From an interesting letter, signed "Topham Hough," in the "Standard" of 20th April, 1904, it appears that among the descendants of Richard Boyle (nephew of the Great Earl of Cork) have been the great Duke of Wellington, the late Lord Salisbury, Viscount Sherbrooke, W. M. Thackeray, and also Mr. Arthur Balfour, the present Premier.

(1) Vol. i., p. 242, "The Private Bankers of Cork and the South of Ireland," by C. M. Tenison, B.L., M.R.I.A.

Some Notable Cork Scientists.



THE genius, talent, and capacity of which the County Cork has admittedly been at all times so prolific, have usually exhibited themselves most conspicuously in the paths of literature, divinity, or the law; but that many of her sons have also won no small distinction in the world of science is not quite so well known or recognised. That this latter claim is no fanciful one will be seen from the following sketches of seven eminent Cork scientific men—compiled from various sources—of whom one only was enabled to devote his great abilities and opportunities to the enlightenment and advancement of the city of his birth. To him therefore precedence is given in the present attempt to perpetuate the memory and chronicle the life-work of these Cork-born scientists, all of whom began their career at a time when the roads to fame and success were not so smooth and easy as they, comparatively speaking, nowadays are.

I.

With no special advantages of birth, lineage, or connections to favour him in his career, Dr. William Kirby Sullivan rose to the highest position, from a literary and scientific point of view, that he could possibly occupy in his native city, viz., to the Presidentship of the Cork Queen's College; and that solely from sheer ability and fitness for the post. Nor were his talents and attainments known merely in Cork or Ireland; for we find him described in an obituary notice in that important literary and social organ, "Truth," as "a most remarkable man, a man of great intellectual powers, and most multifarious and varied accomplishments—scientific, literary, archæological, and, above all, philological."

Dr. Sullivan's father was the proprietor of a paper mill near Dripsey, on the outskirts of Cork; and the story is told that on his having introduced machinery into his factory, some of the workmen not only objected to its employment, but actually set fire to the place; and the future scientist and President of Cork College, then but a child, was removed from the burning house, in a servant's arms, wrapped in a blanket.

After this extraordinary experience his parents, doubtless, came to reside in the city, for Dr. Sullivan received his early education in the



W. K. SULLIVAN, PH.D., D.SC., M.R.I.A.

Cork Christian Brothers' Schools, where his youthful ability was quickly observed. While still a young lad he displayed a great taste for chemistry; and upon obtaining his degrees, he delivered some of his first lectures in the old Cork Mechanics' Institute, which formerly stood in Cook Street.

Young Sullivan then went to Germany, where he laid the foundation of his great chemical knowledge under the celebrated Professor Liebig of Giessen, of whom he was a favourite pupil. After this he came to Dublin at a time when the "Young Ireland" party was most active, with whose aspirations he was in sympathy; but having been attacked with rheumatic fever, he became disabled for some months; and on his recovery the '48 crisis was past and gone.

The lectures of Dr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Kane on the "Industrial Resources" of Ireland; and the efforts of the Irish National party of that day having forced the Government to establish the Museum of Irish Industry, that which has now become the Royal College of Science, Dublin, Dr. Kane secured the services of so accomplished an assistant as young Sullivan; and they worked together for several years.

On Dr. Kane's appointment to the Presidency of the Queen's College, Cork, Dr. Sullivan became charged with the duties of Theoretical and Practical Chemistry in the Museum of Irish Industry, which he fulfilled with remarkable ability and success. So great had his reputation become, that when Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Newman was constituted head of the Catholic University in Dublin, one of his primary efforts was to secure Dr. Sullivan as one of his staff. There was risk of loss, but Dr. Sullivan ran the risk, and accepted the proffered post—the Museum authorities having deprived him of the laboratory, though retaining him as Professor of Theoretical Chemistry.

His great resources in organising the scientific section of the Catholic University cannot well be estimated. He was an indefatigable worker; and having the entire confidence and co-operation of Dr. Newman, he created what at that time was—after that of the Museum—the first and finest laboratory in Dublin; and, in addition to it, a Mineralogical Museum of great importance.

But his greatest service was the time and care he gave as Editor of the "Atlantis," an academic publication issued by the Catholic University—one which preceded the publications of Trinity College, Dublin. Of this periodical, curious to relate, more copies were sold in Oxford alone than in all Ireland. The erudition which it displayed made all the foreign academies of learning recognise that a mind had come into

Ireland; and as a consequence, students were sent from distant countries to complete their education in the Dublin Catholic University.

Dr. Sullivan contributed largely to the "Atlantis"; and his writings therein show the double bent of his mind. One of his articles, which had for its subject the influence of physical geography on the languages and literature of the people of Europe, exhibited his acquaintance with both science and philology.

His connection with the Catholic University led to his undertaking the work which will be his best monument with the Irish nation, viz., his "Introduction to O'Curry's Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," a work which forms the basis of his literary fame. After O'Curry's death his papers were happily purchased by the authorities of the Catholic University (in which O'Curry had delivered these lectures); and the editing of them was undertaken by Dr. Sullivan, who was to have been assisted by John E. Pigot. But the burden of the work was thrown on Dr. Sullivan, as Mr. Pigot soon left Ireland for India.

He had to search for O'Curry's references, explain his allusions, and supplement his remarks; till at last it suggested itself that he should embody the fuller knowledge derived through his own investigations in an "Introduction," which grew and grew until it made a book by itself—the most remarkable treatise we possess on the political and social institutions of Ancient Ireland, studied from the point of view of comparison with the political and social systems of those countries of Northern Europe which did not come under the direct influence of Roman law. This work was published by Williams and Norgate, London, in three volumes, in 1873.

Whilst carrying on these studies and lecturing at the Model Farm at Glasnevin, Dublin, Dr. Sullivan found leisure to translate from the German, and also edit, Dr. Herman Ebel's work on "Celtic Philology" (published in 1863)—appending to it many valuable additions. To the "Proceedings" of the Royal Irish Academy he also supplied contributions of great worth; and whilst Secretary to the Academy his interesting comments, as genial as they were erudite, helped to make the meetings most attractive in those days. But he was never granted the Academy's Gold Medal, although it was given to others of less note abroad but of more domestic fame.

A scholar thus eminent in so many branches of learning is exceedingly rare; yet it was only as it were by chance that one became aware of the divergent currents of his investigations. If, for instance, we take

up Groves on the "The Correlation of Forces," we find him quoting a discovery of Sullivan from the pages of the French "Archives of Electricity." Are you, on the other hand, interested in the origin of the rights of property, and consult Sir Henry Maine, that author cites Sullivan as an authority on the question of primitive land-holding. Specialists in England were delighted with his chapter on "Music" in the "Introduction" to O'Curry's Lectures. His mastery of Irish was as great as his skill in chemistry; and whilst the languages of Southern Europe were familiar to him, a Swedish professor expressed his surprise at his knowledge of Northern literature and languages, and at the correctness of his pronunciation.

Dr. Sullivan was also one of the writers who contributed to "Two Centuries of Irish History"—a volume edited by Mr. James Bryce, M.P., and published at London in 1888. In conjunction with Dr. Sigerson, of Dublin, he wrote that portion of it treating on "The Ireland of the Penal Days."

The growth of beetroot in Ireland interested him at an early date. He wrote on this subject in Maguire's "Irish Industrial Movement," published in 1853; and, later on, he brought out a small book on "Beetroot." His researches on the value of Irish beetroot for the production of sugar, though contested at the time by officials and by Dr. Apjohn, of Trinity College, Dublin, were afterwards triumphantly vindicated by the test of Dr. Jellett's saccharometer.

His services in the creation of the Munster Dairy Farm were of a piece with that work which he began in his "Report" on Irish Exhibits at Dargan's Dublin Exhibition of 1853; and concluded by the valuable statement on the condition of Irish industry, which formed a sequence to the Exhibition held at Cork in 1883. Finally, it was he chiefly who organised the Scientific Department of the Royal University, Dublin; of whose Senate and Standing Committee he was one of the most active members; whilst he had a large share in the course of studies prescribed by it.

In the course of time Sir Robert Kane having decided on resigning the Presidentship of the Cork Queen's College, he suggested to the authorities that Dr. Sullivan should be his successor; and when this important post was offered him he accepted it—all the more readily, probably, as there were rumours in circulation at this time of the intended closing of the Catholic University and the College of Science.

As President of the Cork College Dr. Sullivan practically transformed it, as well as the grounds that surround it, which he threw open to the public. Sir Robert Kane having been appointed President with an

understanding from the Government that he would not be bound to reside in Cork—the College, as a consequence, suffered from his absence. But when Dr. Sullivan came to reside there as President a great change for the better came over almost everything in connection with the College.

He was scarcely installed in office when he applied himself heartily to the development of each and every one of its departments, devoting particular attention to that of Natural History. The Library was extended; and the Museum was greatly enlarged, more especially the medical, surgical, and anatomical portion of it. He interested the late Mr. William Crawford, of Cork, so much in the success of the College that the latter gentleman built the Observatory and supplied it with the beautiful instruments that are now used there.

The grounds, the botanic garden, and the plant-house assumed a different appearance altogether during the presidency of Dr. Sullivan. The splendid new entrance and the pond for the rearing of aquatic plants are also additions which testify to his energy and exertions.

Dr. Sullivan likewise introduced shops for the engineering department, where the technicalities of trades connected with engineering could be studied and put in practice; whilst it was chiefly through his influence that the Government were induced to enlarge the laboratory attached to the medical school. From all this it will be seen how much the various branches of education at the Queen's College, Cork, owe to Dr. Sullivan.

Nor were his labours confined to the college walls; for he did not hesitate to place his time and service at the disposal of the citizens of Cork. The calls on him in this way were numerous; and often involved much trouble. He took the greatest interest in the local hospitals; and he approved of the suggestion of the Protestant Bishop of Cork in connection with the bequest of £28,000 by Lady Combermere (who was the daughter of a Cork physician) that the two Cork Infirmaries should be combined. His death, however, precluded his giving any practical aid to this suggestion. It was largely owing to his efforts, furthermore, that medical students were admitted into the Cork Union Hospital in order to further them thereby in their studies.

The Munster Dairy School received his constant attention, for he took a great interest in agricultural affairs, more especially those appertaining to the dairy department, recognising as he did its importance as regards the South of Ireland, and the great benefit such schools as

those of the Model Farm would prove to the community at large, whose improvement was ever his first object.

The Cork Exhibition of 1883 owed its success very considerably to his indefatigable assistance; and the Official Report which he wrote on it was then, and has since, been considered a most masterly and scholarly summary of the industrial resources, products, and manufactures of Ireland at that date.

As President of another time-honoured local institution, the Cork Literary and Scientific Society, his lectures were always characterised by a profound knowledge and a graceful diction, which pleased and instructed his delighted audiences. In short, in whatever department of knowledge Dr. Sullivan could be of any service to his fellow-countrymen, he was at all times most ready and willing to place himself at their disposal, and to work with an energy that might well have put to shame younger men.

Having suffered since 1887 from heart disease, Dr. Sullivan, after but a couple of days' abstention from work, at length succumbed to this malady, on the 12th of May, 1890, aged 67, leaving behind him two sons and three daughters.

On the 25th of June, 1894, the then Mayor of Cork unveiled the monument raised to his memory by public subscription of the citizens of Cork. This consisted of the Celtic cross in stone, handsomely designed and executed, which now stands over the grave of Dr. Sullivan in St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork.⁽¹⁾

II.

Dr. Ball, who was born at Cove, now Queenstown, on the 1st of April, 1802, belonged to a Youghal family, of Devonshire extraction, the first of whom settled there in 1651.

He early showed a decided spirit of enquiry, especially into Natural History; and at Ballitore School, Co. Kildare, where he was chiefly educated, the master, Mr. White, appreciated and encouraged his zoological studies.

At home in Youghal he became an active outdoor observer, and recorded much that he saw with but little aid from others; and upon

¹⁾ Dr. Sullivan was also Editor of the short-lived "Monthly Journal of Progress," 1854—to which he contributed papers "On Schools for Science," "Societies for the Promotion of Industrial Arts," "Fish Offal as Manure," "The Uses of Turf," etc. To this Journal Mr. Henry Hennessy was also a contributor.

attaining his majority he took an active part in the various public institutions of Youghal, of which he was elected a local magistrate in 1824, when only 22 years old.

Although it was his own desire to study medicine, if he could have done so, without expense to his father, he entered the Government service instead, at the instance of the Duke of Devonshire; and from 1827 to 1852 he was a zealous public servant—despite his disappointment in receiving no advancement or change of employment. Finally, in 1852, on a reduction taking place in the Chief Secretary's Office, he was placed on the retired list, on the ground that he "devoted much attention to scientific pursuits; and that it was not expedient that public servants should be thus occupied." This, notwithstanding he had most faithfully performed his official duties. His retiring allowance, however, enabled him to live in moderate comfort.

The time he could spare from official work he always devoted to Natural History pursuits, making zoological expeditions during his holidays, frequently with Mr. William Thompson, of Belfast, to whose many zoological publications, especially his "Natural History of Ireland" (1849—1851), Dr. Ball added numberless facts of interest; so that in this way he soon acquired a high reputation in that department of science.

During almost the whole of his residence in Dublin he was one of the most prominent figures in its scientific life. In 1837 he was elected Secretary of the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland, of which he became President later on; and he was one of the original founders of the Dublin Statistical Society. He was, further, a Council Member of the Dublin Scientific Society, and of the Dublin University Zoological Association.

He always exerted himself, as far as possible, to promote the general diffusion of scientific knowledge, especially by lectures and museums; and on his appointment as Director of the Museum in Trinity College, Dublin, on the death of Dr. Whitley Stokes, he presented to it his large collection of Natural History, which was richer than any other in Irish specimens, and included many original specimens and new species. In recognition of his various services and merits, Trinity College conferred on him the Honorary Degree of LL.D. in 1850.

In 1851 Dr. Ball was appointed Secretary of the Queen's University in Ireland, an office which he discharged with distinguished success. Other offices in which his services were of great importance, likewise, were that of Secretary to the Joint Committee of Lectures appointed in 1854 by the Government and the Royal Dublin Society, to direct scientific



DR. BALL.

lectures in Dublin and in provincial centres; and that of Assistant-Examiner to the Civil Service Commission in 1855.

He had been appointed President of the Natural History Section of the British Association Meeting held at Dublin in 1857; but previous to the meeting he died through rupture of the aorta, on the 30th of March, 1857, his life having been shortened by overwork.

In private life Dr. Ball's social qualities and honourable nature were most highly esteemed.

His principal scientific papers were on Fossil Bears found in Ireland; on remains of Oxen found in Irish bogs; on *Loligo* and other minor zoological subjects, which were published in the "Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," 1837—50; the "Proceedings of the Zoological Society," 1844; the "Annals of Natural History," 1846—1850; and the "Natural History Review," 1855.

Dr. Ball was father of the present well-known astronomer, Sir Robert Ball, and of Sir Charles Bent Ball, of Trinity College, Dublin.

III.

Dr. Benjamin Williamson, A.M., D.Sc., and D.C.L., for many years Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Dublin, was born at Cork in 1827; and was educated at Kilkenny College, and Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated in 1848 as First Senior Moderator in Mathematics and Mathematical Physics.

In 1852 he was elected Fellow of T.C.D., and was appointed a College Tutor in 1858.

In 1871 he published a "Treatise on the Differential Calculus," which reached a seventh edition in 1889, and in 1872 he produced a companion volume on "Integral Calculus," of which a fifth edition was published in 1888. In 1884, in conjunction with F. A. Tarleton, F.T.C.D., he brought out a Treatise on "Dynamics," of which a second edition appeared in 1889. He was also author of a work on the "Mathematical Theory of Stress and Strain."

Mr. Williamson was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1879; and in 1884 he was appointed to the Professorship of Natural Philosophy in his own (Dublin) University.

Besides contributing to the "Quarterly Journal of Mathematics," to "Hermeneutha," and other scientific journals, Professor Williamson contributed several articles to the ninth edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica" on the "Infinitesimal Calculus," "Calculus of Variations," "Variable Complex," and on "Mac Laurin."

IV.

John Denis Macdonald, M.D., F.R.S., R.N., Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets, was born October 26, 1826, and was the youngest son of James Macdonald, of Cork, and his wife, Catherine, daughter of Mr. Denis McCarthy, of Kilcolman; and was educated under his father's supervision.

In 1841 he became the apprentice and pupil of Dr. Wm. Meredith, House Surgeon to the South Infirmary, Cork; and he commenced his professional studies in the Cork School of Medicine; but completed them in King's College, London. Here he had the advantage of attending the Botanical Lectures of Professor Forbes, and the Zoological course of Professor Rhymmer Jones, who may be said to have inspired him with a taste for Natural History. He was the winner of Sir W. Ferguson's prize in Surgery, the Medical Society's prize, and a Certificate in Medicine, whilst connected with King's College.

Having passed the College of Surgeons, he entered the Royal Navy as Assistant-Surgeon in 1849; and was appointed to the Royal Naval Hospital, Plymouth, where he took charge of the Medical Museum, and made numerous pathological drawings and records, which are preserved in the Library. He was subsequently appointed to H.M.S. "Herald," which was commissioned in 1852 for surveying and exploring the South-west Pacific.

Before proceeding to join this ship he was introduced to Professor Huxley, and Dr. Macdonald profited much by the kind advice and information communicated to him by the Professor, whose discoveries he afterwards had numerous opportunities of verifying, whilst himself studying the topography and natural history of the different localities visited by the ship or her tender, the "Torch." These included Australia, Tasmania, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, the Fiji group, and others besides; and microscopical drawings and determinations of all the more important soundings and products of dredge and towing-net obtained in the expedition were from time to time communicated by him to the learned societies at home. He also materially assisted in making the large collection of Natural History objects which were sent to England and presented by the Lords of the Admiralty to the British Museum.

He headed a perilous exploring expedition into the interior of Viti Levu, an abstract of the report of which sent home by the captain was published in the Geographical Society's volume for 1857. Much information was likewise furnished by him to the Colonial Office; and when leaving the Colony a gold chronometer watch was presented to Dr.

Macdonald by the Governor-General, Sir Wm. Denison, members of the Legislative Assembly, and other gentlemen in recognition of services rendered by him. He was also made Corresponding Member of the Australian Museum.

On arriving in England in 1859, at the age of 33, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. That same year he was promoted to H.M.S. "Icarus"; and on proceeding to the West Indies he encountered almost singlehanded one of the most formidable epidemics of yellow fever on record.

He was next awarded the McDougall Brisbane Gold Medal of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and was also adjudged, but not awarded, the Keith prize, through not being a Scotchman; and he gained the Sir Gilbert Blane Gold Medal while on the Mediterranean station in the "Lord Warden" flagship. He was next frequently engaged as one of the Medical Board of Examiners, and he subsequently superintended the Naval Medical Officers entering the Army Medical School as Professor of Naval Hygiene and a Member of the Senate.

In 1880 Dr. Macdonald was promoted to the rank of Inspector-General of Hospitals; in 1883 he was appointed to the Royal Naval Hospital at Plymouth; and, finally, he was placed on the retired list in 1886.

The following are some of Dr. Macdonald's published works:—"Sound and Colour," which sets forth the Undulating Theory as the only trustworthy basis of Analogy, 1869; "Guide to the Microscopical Examination of Drinking Water," 1875; and "Outlines of Naval Hygiene," 1881.

V.

Dr. Casey was claimed as the most remarkable man of science that the Catholic body in Ireland had produced up to the time of his death. But, like many another Irish scholar, such as his friend, Dr. W. K. Sullivan, his work was known in other countries perhaps better than in his own, and better appreciated.

Dr. John Casey was born on the 12th of May, 1820, at Kilbehenny, County Cork. He became a schoolmaster under the National Board; and, after some time, obtained the honorable position of Head Master at the Central Model School, Kilkenny. He cannot have been much over twenty years of age when he received this appointment, as when he relinquished it in 1861 he had held it for twenty years.

During this period he devoted himself principally to the study of

the Celtic language and literature; and his knowledge of mathematics was probably inferior in extent to that of many a clever student of the present day who presents himself for the Intermediate Examinations. At length the occasion came which determined his true vocation. A friend of his, a student in Trinity College, and a good mathematician, propounded to Mr. Casey a theorem, called Poncelet's Theorem, of which it was thought there was then no proof.

He gave him, at the same time, some hints as to the methods of modern geometry, unaccompanied however by any demonstration. It was thrown upon Mr. Casey to reconstruct for himself in substance the whole of modern geometry; and it is interesting to note that the proofs then arrived at are those we now find in his "Sequel to Geometry"; and are different from those previously made use of by other Irish and Continental geometers. He at length arrived at the solution required about the same time that Professor (afterwards Sir Andrew) Hart, of Trinity College, obtained independently another proof, somewhat the same in substance.

This feat determined his future career. Some of the Trinity College professors, notably Dr. Townsend, were struck by this achievement, and induced him to enter Trinity College. He found time also to write two papers, one on the nine-point (then the six-point) circle, the other on "The properties of the system of eight circles tangential to three given ones," both of which appeared in the "Quarterly Journal of Applied Science," in 1861 and 1862 respectively.

In the meantime, his friends in Dublin, Professors Townsend, Salmon, Malet, and others were exerting themselves in his behalf; and at last got him the post of Head Master in the then celebrated Kingstown School; and he removed in 1861 from Kilkenny to Kingstown. In the same year he won a science scholarship; and his degree followed in due time.

Thenceforth Mr. Casey's life was one of extraordinary energy and productiveness. He published six lengthy treatises on mathematical subjects, of which two were published in the "Philosophical Transactions" of the Royal Society; the others by the Royal Irish Academy. Besides these he wrote a number of smaller tracts, which are scattered through the Mathematical Transactions of various societies on the Continent and America; and he contributed to various other mathematical journals in several languages.

For this latter work he had prepared himself by teaching himself French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch; and when he subse-

quently became editor for a time of the "Messenger of Mathematics," he maintained a correspondence with some of the most distinguished contemporary mathematicians, such as Hermite, of Paris; Professor Cremona, of Rome; De Jonquieres, Neuberg, Cayley, and others. The reader who knows what this literary activity implies will hardly be prepared to learn that Dr. Casey was all through his life a teacher; and that during the years when he wrote most he spent a considerable portion of his day in preparing students for examination.

The preparation of educational works (some of which have already passed through several editions) was accomplished during the last ten or twelve years of his life.

His merits met with abundant recognition; and honorable distinctions were conferred on him freely. The most prized of these, we should say, came from his Alma Mater, Trinity College, when she conferred on him the degree of LL.D., *Honoris Causa*. There is a law amongst the constitutions of Trinity College forbidding that degree to be conferred on a graduate of the University except it is won by examination. On one occasion only was this rule suspended, and that was in favour of Dr. Casey. The leading newspapers of Dublin united to commend the exception thus made, and to exalt the deserts of the man who had merited it. Dr. Webb, who delivered the Latin address on this occasion, said that "his wonderful discoveries were known to all students in geometry, both at home and abroad." This occurred so far back as 1869. In 1878 he received another high mark of distinction, the Cunningham medal, a gold medal, conferred by the Royal Irish Academy, in recognition of his extraordinary merit. Dr. Casey had on this occasion presented to the Academy his treatise on "Cubic Transformations," which was the first of the Cunningham Memoirs. The medal has rarely been conferred since then.

Dr. Casey's merits were thus widely acknowledged; not only with justice but with generosity. One exception occurred, and that in the Cork Queen's College. He stood for the vacant professorship of mathematics; and on asking his mathematical friends to bear testimony to his capacity, so many letters came from such authorities as Drs. Salmon, Townsend, and others, that he declared he was quite embarrassed by the praises he had thus evoked. They were not, however, considered sufficient for Cork. This incident contrasts curiously with another, which shows the high value at which other learned bodies estimated him. In 1878 Trinity College offered him a professorship at an ample salary, which was to be created specially for him, and would not require him

to give up his professorship at the Catholic University. Although pleased at this offer, Dr. Casey declined it, resolving to devote his powers to what he had made his principal object in life—the Catholic University of Ireland.

In addition to these distinctions, he was Fellow of the Royal University, Ireland; and, in 1878, he was appointed Hon. Secretary of the Mathematical Department of the British Association. Of the twenty-five years that he was Member of the Royal Irish Academy, he was twenty years Council Member, and five years Vice-President. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society; and member of the mathematical societies of England, and was corresponding member of the Royal Society of Liege, and of many American and Continental societies and journals.

In his personal character Dr. Casey was completely devoid of self-conscious vanity. He took a simple pleasure in his successes, which he was at no pains to conceal, and which readily called forth a sympathetic feeling in his friends. He was fearlessly honest; and hence the outspokenness of his language on any point which involved a principle. But his candour never gave offence; for everyone knew that in him honesty was united with a spirit of kindness that would have made it inexpressibly painful to him to cause injury to anyone.

In his youthful days he was Secretary to a Tipperary Confederate Club. He was one of the first to join Isaac Butt's Home Rule movement; and he continued a Home Ruler to the last.

Dr. Casey died at his residence, 86 South Circular Road, Dublin, on the 3rd of January, 1891, aged 70, and was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery.

VI.

Professor Henry G. Hennessy was born at Cork on the 19th of March, 1826, where he received an excellent school training in mathematics and languages; but was prevented from entering Dublin University by the disabilities regarding higher education then attaching to those who were not members of the Irish Protestant Church. He had thus to pursue the study of the higher parts of mathematics unaided, at such intervals as his professional work as an assistant engineer permitted.

In 1851 his "Researches in Terrestrial Physics" appeared in the "Transactions" of the Royal Society, London; and in this memoir, as in others communicated to the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, and to the Institute of France, during subsequent years, he investigated several questions regarding the figure and structure of the earth and the planets. He held from the first the view of the fluid origin of these bodies; and



PROFESSOR HENRY G. HENNESSY, F.R.S., M.R.I.A.

always maintained that all the facts respecting the earth which come under our notice are best explained by the existence of fluid-matter enclosed at a high temperature within its crust.

He also wrote papers on "Climatology," which have appeared in various publications, including those of the learned societies above-mentioned; and he claimed to have proved laws of temperature-distribution in islands, and to have deduced consequences of general application from the physical properties of water.

In 1855, on the invitation of Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Newman, he became Professor of Physics in what was known as the Catholic University, Dublin; and in 1874 he was appointed to the Professorship of Applied Mathematics in the Dublin Royal College of Science. In this latter office he occupied himself with enquiries in Hydraulics and Mechanism, some of which have appeared in the publications of the Royal Society. He also took an active part in the question of Uniformity of Weights and Measures; and proposed the Polar Decimal System, which was afterwards advocated by Sir John Herschell.

Professor Hennessy was a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, and of other learned and scientific bodies.

On his retirement from the Royal College of Science Professor Hennessy resided for a time in Switzerland; but returned to Ireland, and died at Bray on the 8th of March, 1901.

He was the elder brother of Sir John Pope Hennessy, Colonial Governor, and of Mr. Bryan Hennessy, one time Editor of the now long-defunct "Cork Southern Reporter."

VII.

Dr. George James Allman, the eldest son of Mr. James Clugston Allman, of Bandon, was born at Cork in 1812; and was educated at the Belfast Academic Institution.

He graduated in Arts and Medicine in Dublin University in 1844; and in the same year, having been appointed to the Regius Professorship of Botany in that University, he relinquished all further thoughts of medical practice. According to another account, Dr. Allman's early attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and his sense of the injustice of the laws under which at that time Catholics suffered, led him to be a follower of O'Connell; and believing that his political sympathies would best find expression in the legal profession, he decided on studying for the Irish Bar.

His early love of zoology and botany, however, never deserted him, and finding this incompatible with his legal studies, he gave up the latter, studied medicine instead, and then, as above stated, abandoned medicine in turn.

In 1854 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and in 1855 he resigned his Dublin University professorship upon his appointment as Regius Professor of Natural History and Regius Keeper of the Natural History Museum of Edinburgh, a post he held till 1870, during which he had the honour of having for one of his pupils the Duke of Edinburgh, then Prince Alfred. Shortly after this the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by the University of Edinburgh.

Dr. Allman's chief scientific labours have been amongst the lower organisations of the animal kingdom, to the investigation of whose structure and development he specially devoted himself. For his researches in this department of biology the Royal Society of Edinburgh awarded him, in 1872, the Brisbane prize; in the year following a Royal Medal was awarded him by the Royal Society of London; and in 1878 he received the Cunningham Gold Medal from the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

He was one of the Commissioners appointed by Government in 1876 to enquire into the state of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland; and soon after his election to the Edinburgh chair he was nominated one of the Commissioners of the Scottish Fisheries, an honorary post, which he held until the abolition of the Board in 1881. On the resignation of Mr. Benthall he was elected President of the Linnean Society, but resigned that position in 1883 in favour of Sir John Lubbock; and in 1879 he was nominated President by the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

On the completion of the memorable exploring voyage of the "Challenger," the large collection of Hydroida made during that great expedition was assigned to him for determination and description—a service which he had already performed for the Hydroida collected during the exploration of the Gulf Stream under the United States Government. Dr. Allman served on the Councils of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh and of the Royal Irish Academy; and he filled the post of Examiner in Natural History for the Queen's University, Ireland; the London University, the Army and Navy and Medical Services, and the Indian Civil Service.

Results of his original investigations are contained in memoirs published in the "Philosophical Transactions" and other "Transactions"

of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Royal Irish Academy, the Linnean Society, and the Zoological Society of London; as well as in Reports presented to the British Association, Harvard University, and the "Challenger" Exploration Commission; and also in communications to the "Annals of Natural History," the "Quarterly Journal of Microscopic Science," and other scientific journals.

His more elaborate works are a "Monograph of the Freshwater Polyzoo," 1856; and a "Monograph of the Gymnoblasic Hydroids," 1871-2, both published by the Ray Society, and illustrated with coloured plates.

On the occasion of the General Election in 1874, the Committee formed for the return of a Liberal Member for Bandon selected Dr. Allman, offering, at the same time, to relieve him from any special pledges; but he declined the proffered honour. In later life he was a Liberal-Unionist.

Dr. Allman was an M.D., LL.D., F.R.C.S.I., F.R.S., F.R.S.E., M.R.I.A., Corresponding Member of the Zoological Society, London; and Honorary Member of other British and Foreign learned societies. During the latter part of his life he resided at Parkstone, in Dorsetshire, where he died on the 24th of November, 1898, aged 86 years. He left personal estate valued at over £10,000, and of a gross value exceeding £13,000, which he bequeathed chiefly to his sister and nieces, his wife having predeceased him.

J. C.

The Abbey of Sancta Mauro, or De Fonte Vivo.

BY J. M. BURKE, B.A., B.L.

WARE, Archdall, the "Hibernia Dominicana," and the Rev. D. Murphy, in "Triumphalia Monasterii Sanctae Crucis," all agree in stating that this Abbey was founded in 1172 by Dermot MacCarthy, King of Munster, who was afterwards killed at Kilbibawne, by one of the Butlers. Dr. Smith writes: "In Myross parish was anciently the Abbey of Sancta Mauro, or De Fonte Vivo. . . . At a place called Carrigiliky in this parish the foundation of extensive ruins was discovered, together with a large cemetery with large quantities of human bones; it was probably the site of the Abbey of Mauro, which some falsely place at Abbeymahon, near Timoleague. The house of Abbeystrewry was a cell to this." Of Abbeymahon he writes: "Halfway between Timoleague and Courtmacsherry stand the ruins of Abbeymahon, founded by the Bernardine monks, who were a very rich order. The Lord Barry gave them 18 plowlands,

which constitute the parish of Abbeymahon; but the estate was only given to them till it was completed, which never happened, for soon after the dissolution of the monasteries took place, and the lands were seized by the Crown." He adds in a note: "Some have wrongly confounded this Abbey with the celebrated Abbey of Sancta Mauro in Myross."

Following Smith, Lewis, Miss Cusack, Father Denis Murphy, and Dr. Dan Donovan, put the site of Sancta Mauro in Myross. I shall here endeavour to show that Dr. Smith, misled probably by the resemblance between Carrigilly and Carrigilily (which latter is in Myross), was mistaken in denying that Abbeymahon was identical with the Abbey of Maur. The ruins of Abbeymahon still exist; on Speed's map it is marked as the Abbey of Mahund; the place is still named Abbeymahon; there is still a graveyard there; and a neighbouring townland is called Aghavanister, i.e., Field of the Monastery. Furthermore, the ruins of Abbeysbrowry, or Abbeystrewry, which was a cell to the Abbey of Maur, likewise remain; and the place is used as a graveyard still. But there is no trace of an abbey in Myross, no tradition, no local name, no ruin to suggest that an abbey was ever there.

Turning to documentary evidence, we find a lease of Jany. 15th, 1554, "to Osborne Eckingham, Knight, of the sight (sic) of the Abbey of Mayo, alias de Fonte Vivo, County of Cork; lands Mayo, Lyslyvan, Carrighewryn, Leynagh, Gradge, and the cell called Manyster-in-horry; rectories Mayo and Lyslie, to hold for 21 years," etc.

1576. Lease to Nicholas Walsh, Esq., Chief Justice of Mounster, of the site of the Abbey of Mawer, alias de fonte vivo, co. Cork, the demesne lands, a fishing weir, lands of Lislivan, Curraghwrin, and Grady in Red Barrie's country, the lands of Mawe, a cell called Manister Inisherrie, and the rectories of Mawe and Lislee.

1583. Lease to Nicholas Walsh, of the site of the Abbey of Mawer, alias de fonte vivo, the demesne lands, the lands of Lyslivan, Curraghwrin, Lenagh, Grady, alias Grange, the Garrans, the Curragh, Cregan, Caheromannagh, Mawer, being lands in Red Barrie's country, and a cell of the Abbey called Manisterenshorry, alias Manisterne Srohourry.

1587. There is a similar grant this year mentioned, in which is the rectory of Mawr, alias Mawe, alias Mawne.

From these grants we learn that the Abbey was called of Maur, of Mawne, i.e., Mahon, and de fonte vivo; that it was situated in Red Barrie's country, i.e., Barryroe; that its rectories were Mayo (Abbeymahon) and Lislee; that it had a cell at Abbeystrewry; that its lands were Lislethane, Curryhevron, Lehenagh, Grange, Ardgehane, etc., all of which are in the parishes of Abbeymahon and Lislee. All these items show that Abbeymahon was identical with the Abbey de Sancta Mauro.

This is confirmed by Dr. Brady's "Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross," as follows:—"Abbeymahon; 1634; Rectoria de Abbeymahon, Abbatia de Macrone; Nicholas Walsh, miles, impropriator valet, CVL. li. per annum; he hath eighteen plowlands." (Macrone seems a variant of Maurone, an ablative of Mauro.)

1694. "Abbeystrewrey is an appendix of Abbey-mane." The only inference from these entries is that Abbeymahon is identical with Sancta Mauro.

Little is known of this once celebrated abbey now.

A.D. 1295. Patrick was Abbot of Maur (Archdall).

1392. The Abbot was taxed on the basis of an income of 60 marks per year.

1488. Edmund de Courcey, Bishop of Ross, held this abbey in commendam

till this year, when it was given in commendam to (Blessed) Thaddeus MacCarthy.

1492, July 8th. Tateus, Bishop of Ross, paid at Rome 33½ florins of gold for the monastery de fonte vivo (Brady, Epis. Succ.)

1497, May 3rd. Roman entry re Robert Onhallacayn, of the monastery of B. Mary of the Clear Spring, of the Cistercian Order, Diocese of Ross. (Ibid.)

1517. During this year Edmund de Courcey, Bishop of Ross, resigned in favour of John Imurrily, Abbot of Fonte Vivo, according to a document still extant. The retirement was grounded on the Bishop's advanced age, and the merits of Imurrily, as well as certain relationship with him. It was witnessed by Lady Ellinor MacCarthy, of Kilbrittain; Cornelius Cahalane, Guardian of Timoleague Abbey; and Maurice O'Murrily, cleric; and duly attested by a notary apostolic of Dublin. The Abbot Imurrily (i.e., O'Hurley) is described as a priest of the diocese of Ross, grave, of good address, and learned in both civil and canon law. In July of the same year the King wrote to Rome, asking the Pope to accept De Courcey's resignation, and recommending the appointment of John, Abbot of S. Maria de Fonte Vivo, a grave, learned, and discreet man. A Consistory was held to consider the matter. The Abbot O'Hurley was duly presented, and two witnesses were examined on oath, viz., Brother Richard, a professed Cistercian, and Maurice O'Cullinane, aged 40, both priests of Ross diocese, who stated that the Abbey was worth 60 marks. O'Hurley was duly appointed Bishop, and was also allowed to retain the Abbey. Sir James Ware informs us that though he was originally a Cistercian, he died in the habit of St. Francis, May 9th, 1519, and was buried in Timoleague Abbey.

The O'Hurleys (in Irish Ua Muirtuile) were descended from Muirtuile, the great-great-grandfather of Eiderscel, ancestor of the O'Driscolls. They had castles at Ballinvaurd and Ballinacarriga. The name Hurley is distinct from O'Herlihy. The O'Herlihs were settled around Ballyvourney, and were the hereditary wardens of St. Gobnat's Church.

1583, October 2nd, Sir Owen MacCarthy petitions the Queen, praying for the fee-farms of Ballybeg and De Fonte Vivo Abbeys, for the maintenance of his two sons at Oxford; also for the Priory of Ross and the economy of Temple-Faughney.

Oct. 20th. Ormond to Burghley. Reversion of the Abbey of Mawre, alias de fonte vivo, not to pass from Justice Walsh (Calendar State Papers).

1584, April 18th (26 Elizabeth, M. 19), Westminster. Eliz. Regina to Archbishop of Dublin and Sir Henry Loftus, Lords Justices, commanding them to pass lease for thirty years in reversion to Nicholas Walshe, Justice of the Province of Mounster, of the Abbey de fonte vivo (Patent Rolls).

1588. Fee-farm grant to Nicholas Walshe.

Nicholas Walshe, the grantee of Sancta Mauro was Chief Justice of Munster, and one of Carew's advisory council. Bishop Rothe gives a brief account of him in his "Analecta" (edited by Cardinal Moran). He appears to have been a ruthless persecutor of his countrymen; but according to Rothe, made a death-bed repentance, and returned to the Catholic Church.

Abbeystrewry lies about half a mile to the west of Skibbereen. In the centre of the abbey grounds is a small ruin which appears to be that of the parish church that formerly stood there. I doubt if any remains of the Abbey still exist. Lord Barry encamped here when he was accompanying Carew to besiege Dunboy Castle.

Dr. Caulfield's Antiquarian and Historical Notes.

CONSIDERING how comparatively indifferent to antiquarian pursuits were the general public a quarter of a century ago, Dr. Caulfield's researches in this direction were so strikingly original, interesting, and exhaustive, that he was, on the whole, wonderfully successful in being able to bring out in book-form so large a share of his work in this ill-appreciated line of literature. But, besides these now rare works, he published, chiefly in the "Cork Constitution" newspaper, a large quantity of antiquarian matter of exceptional local interest. Very few persons go to the trouble of preserving newspaper articles of this class; so that the following abridged transcriptions of some of these Caulfield contributions will probably prove quite new to many readers of this "Journal," whilst their antiquarian value is enhanced rather than diminished by the time that has elapsed since they were first published by this omniscient and devoted Cork topographical writer.

CURRACH CUPPANE CHURCHYARD.

If, observes Dr. Caulfield, an artist or stranger were to enquire of me from what point he could obtain a view of the fairest and most extensive landscape in the neighbourhood of Cork, I would send him to Currach Cuppane churchyard; and directing his attention towards the west, would recommend him "to view the landscape o'er." In the far distance he would see on a clear day the ivy-clad castle of Kilcrea, with the graceful, square tower of the abbey, standing up on the marshy plateau that extends towards Ryecourt, which up to the commencement of the eighteenth century was thickly covered with underwood, the resort of wolves, that proved so destructive in 1602 to the stragglers of Sir Charles Wilmot's army when on its way to the siege of Macroom. Nearer, the bridge of Inniscarra spans the Lee with its many arches; and a little above it is the old roofless parish church of Inniscarra with its venerable cemetery, the site of an ancient ecclesiastical establishment founded here by St. Senan in the sixth century, to which, the annalists tell us, came to study the Holy Scriptures a band of fifty religious men who had landed in Cork Harbour at this time, amongst whom is said to have been MacCorb, whose disciple was St. Fin Barre. On the adjacent left bank the Ballincollig Powder Mills may be seen; a little to the south the tower of Ballincollig Castle lifts itself up from the elevated rock on which it stands, and the extensive ruins that surround it; while immediately opposite the romantic castle of Carrigrohane is conspicuous in mediæval grandeur on the top of a steep precipice over the river Lee, which flows beneath in its tortuous course to the city. All these objects lie in the most cultivated and picturesque locality about Cork.

The parish itself consists of eight ploughlands, and was formerly the inheritance of Donogh, the attainted Earl of Clancarthy. It subsequently passed into the hands of the Hollow Sword Blade Company. The entire parish contains 7,705 acres 1 rood 22 perches, and formed part of the Chancellorship of the Cathedral of St. Fin Barre previous to the passing of the Irish Church Disestablishment Act; while the glebe, according to the Down Survey, contained 3 acres 1 rood 8 perches. All that remains of the ancient church is the eastern gable, some fragments of the south wall, and part of the west gable, just enough of the grey ruin to add an additional charm to the scene.

Some idea of the antiquity of this church may be formed from the fact that it is rated in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, A.D. 1291, as the "Church of Corkapan, three marks, of which the vicar receives half." Dean Davies mentions this church in his "Journal,"⁽¹⁾ which may have existed entire in his day: "Sept. 24, 1690. In the evening I conducted a body of horse over the river at a ford under the church of Curry-Kippane, and leaving Dick Travers to guide them by the bridge of Carrigrohane to the Lough of Cork, I returned to Scravenmore by the way [sic], having heard the Earl of Marlborough's drums on their march." Two days after this the city capitulated to Marlborough.

The name Currach Cuppane is said to be derived from the Irish "currach," a burying-ground, and "cupan," a cup or bowl, taken perhaps from the shape of the ground.

Amongst the tombstones there are none having the slightest claims to antiquity. The oldest is to the memory of Ellen Callaghan, who departed this life 1753; the next in point of age that of Daniel Finn, 1766. From the number of tombstones to the Callaghans, some without the prefix "O," one would be led to suppose that the clan had chosen this graveyard as their place of burial. There is one in the south-west quarter which has a history whose details were related to me many years ago by an aged gentleman, to whom the occupant of the grave was known; and from the high respect in which he held his memory was accustomed, with his brother, to visit the tomb periodically. The inscription is as follows: "I.H.S. Sacred to the memory of Edward O'Callaghan, late Lieut. of the Royal Navy, who departed this life March 1st, 1808, aged 34 years. As a just tribute of her affection, an attached friend has placed this stone over his remains." In the days of his childhood Lieutenant O'Callaghan received the rudiments of his education at St. Peter's School, Cork, where from his wonderful aptitude, while still a child, and the docility and amiability of his manners, he attracted the attention of Miss Parks, a lady as remarkable for her generosity and charity as for her earnestness in forwarding the interests of the children at the school. This she visited daily, and became much interested in the welfare of young O'Callaghan, whose mother was very poor, and depended chiefly on the bounty of her wealthy neighbours. Miss Parks had a brother equally given to good works, and both he and his sister till the time they were well stricken in years, might be seen every Sunday in front of the old gallery in St. Peter's Church, when red crimson velvet cushions, trimmed with gold lace and overhung with gilded tassels, decorated the exterior of many of the pews occupied by the more wealthy and aristocratic parishioners; for about sixty years ago St. Peter's parish was chiefly inhabited by the better class of citizens, while many of the county gentlemen had their town residences here. As soon as young O'Callaghan had received a sound elementary education in the usual branches, his friend and patroness, anxious to set him forward in the world, ascertained, after many offers of situations in merchants' offices, that he had set his mind on the sea and resolved to adopt it as his profession. All arguments to alter his intention were ineffectual, so through friends in Cork he was introduced to a London firm; and, after seeing his equipment complete, his benefactress bade him farewell, and with her blessing he sailed from Cork to London. From London he set sail for the East Indies; and no tidings were heard of him for nearly two years. At last Miss Parks received a communication from his employers, speaking of O'Callaghan in the highest terms, accom-

⁽¹⁾ Edited by Dr. Caulfield for the Camden Society, London, in 1857.

panied with a considerable sum of money for his mother's support. Thus matters went on for some time, till at last a turn came in the tide of events. The captain of the ship in which O'Callaghan sailed was so impressed with his integrity of character that he recommended him to the commander of one his Majesty's ships then going on foreign service; and the next account of him was that he had been engaged in the combined fleet off Trafalgar, when Admiral Nelson received his death-wound; and that for his distinguished bravery he had been recommended and received the commission of Lieutenant. He was now on the high road to preferment, loved and respected by every member of the crew; but the hardships he had endured in his early years and the effects of an Eastern clime told on a not very robust constitution. In 1807 he returned to Cork, thinking that his native air and the genial atmosphere on the sunny hills about the city would restore him; but all proved ineffectual. He gradually sank under a fatal disease, and on his death-bed he handed his hat, sword, and medal to his old patroness as remembrances of his undying gratitude. These emblems of his rank and service were borne on his coffin to Currach Cuppane churchyard.

After the lapse of some years, a mourner who attended the remains of a friend to this place of burial, happened to alight on O'Callaghan's grave; and upon reading the inscription, exclaimed: "I knew him at school in the days of his boyhood; and to his example I owe all I possess on earth. What can I do even to show my respect for his ashes, to prove my sense of his worth? I will plant trees around his grave, and they shall testify to my love of his memory." This worthy man was as good as his word; and the six trees which he planted now stand as guardians of his tomb and peacefully mark the spot.

Dr. Caulfield then goes on to speak of the condition of Currach Cuppane graveyard. "It is saying much, he adds, that it is by no means so disgraceful as it was." In a paper on the churchwardens, etc., of the seventeenth century, Dr. Caulfield records under date of May 7th, 1686, "John Spread, churchwarden, Curricappane (sic) presents William Ellis as a very fit person to succeed him." Until we met with this document, he remarks, we were not aware that divine service was performed in this church at so late a period. From the form of the single perpendicular window in the ruined chancel, as well as a stone credence in a niche in the east wall, a little north of the window, and a piscina in the south wall, a high antiquity may be assigned to this church. [From Colonel Lunham's "Topographica Notes" it appears that Currikuppane East and West was the property of Donogh, Earl of Clancarthy, so late as April, 1703, when it was let by him to Mr. William Dunscombe.]

GILLABBEY.

Dr. Caulfield's "Historical Notes on Gille Abbey" were written when the site of the once celebrated Abbey de Antro Sancti Finbarri having been excavated for the purpose of erecting residences for the professors of the Cork Queen's College, through the munificence of the late Mr. William H. Crawford, great interest was aroused by the discovery of human remains, and a very perfect burial kist containing a skeleton with a skull of large dimensions and some physiological peculiarities. It was somewhere near this place, writes Dr. Caulfield, that the famous cave existed to which Fin Barr, the sainted founder of Cork diocese used to resort for prayer and retirement from the world; and so sanctified did it become through his presence that from a humble cell the King of Munster, in after ages, raised a costly edifice here which was the resort of ecclesiastics famous for their great literary attainments.

The place of the Cave has long since been lost. It is probable that it was originally some natural cavity in the limestone rock, with which this locality abounds. In the days of its original splendour it commanded an extensive and lovely view. The flow of the river Lee, then unimpeded by modern obstructions, presented the appearance of a great inland lake at full tide, which, reaching from hill to hill, submerged the islands that studded the valley here and there, causing a foreign visitor who viewed the scene from Sunday's Well so late as 1644, to compare it to "the sea." The monks of the abbey were the first to erect a fishing weir on this river, the remains of which were till lately visible. It was used for the capture of salmon until about forty years ago (i.e., prior to when Dr. Caulfield wrote these notes).

The Irish annals tell us that in early times the river Lee was navigable as far as Inniscarra. The fertility of the islands that were here, which the Western Road and Mardyke now partly occupy, was appreciated so late as the time of Queen Elizabeth, as we shall presently see. The early Annals of the Abbey have long since been lost. Most of the information respecting it that we now possess has been recorded in the pages of Sir James Ware and Mervyn Archdall; two or three of the events in connection with it have lately turned up in the "Calendar of State Papers"; and another document is in existence from which we obtain the name not only of a hitherto unrecorded Abbot of St. Fin Barre's Cave, but a new Canon of Cork Cathedral. Of this last a translation is given further on.

The following curious mediæval legend containing the earliest reference we have to this Abbey is preserved amongst a collection of ancient Irish manuscript-translations in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, of which one MacConglinne is the principal hero. It appears that he was intended for the church, but took up the profession of poet instead. After mature consideration as to what part of Ireland he should take up his abode in, and having heard that Cathal, son of Finguinne, was then enjoying the profuse hospitality of the lord of Hy Eachach in the west of the county Cork, he determined on going to join him, as he was himself fond of good cheer. He set out from Roscommon where he had been studying; and passing over the intervening country, he arrived late at St. Fin Barre's Church, Cork. Here he went at once to the "Strangers' House" of the establishment; but he found it in such an uncomfortable state that it afforded him little inducement to make it his abode. MacConglinne however, took up his lodgings for the night in the fireless "Strangers' House" of St. Fin Barre's. He had not been long in bed when the Abbot's servant came with some scanty food and a little fire for anyone who might happen to occupy the place during the night. When MacConglinne, who was the most learned and severe satirist of his time, saw the miserable food and fire that were intended for himself, he made three satirical camranns, or crooked stanzas, beginning, "Cork, wherein are sweet bells." The servant carried this rhyme to Manchin, the Abbot, who when he heard it became so enraged, that he ordered the poet to be carried out at once and hanged. The poet, however, demanded to be heard in his own defence before the people of Cork; and the request being granted him, he succeeded by his arguments and eloquence in obtaining a respite till next day. During that night he was visited by an angel, who declared to him the manner by which he should be able to cure Cathal, son of Finguinne, of the dreadful malady under which he then laboured. The next morning when the Abbot and people of Cork came to him he told them that he had had a vision, the disclosure of which would be of great importance to all the people of Munster, and he demanded a further respite. This was

granted to him, and then he recited a genealogical poem of twelve stanzas, in which he carries the pedigree of the Abbot up to Adam, through a humorous line of ancestry, consisting of the most luxurious and savoury articles of food known in those days—beginning, "Salute us, O Priest, thou Goarb famed for learning," etc. This poem was followed by another of eleven stanzas, descriptive of the Vision, and with the same allusion to food, commencing:

"A vision to me was revealed, a wonderful phantom I tell,
In the presence of all people," etc.

The Abbot, Manchin, perceived the meaning of this vision; and advised the young poet to set out forthwith to where Cathal, son of Finguinne, was. In due time he presented himself to the King of Munster at the house of Pichan, a chief of the south-western part of the county Cork, where the King was then on a royal visit. He at once set about the object of his journey, and after many extraordinary schemes, he succeeded in healing the King of his infirmity, to his great comfort and joy. The King, now freed, returned to his house, and was not sparing of his rewards to the young poet, whose fame was now established for ever.⁽²⁾

The "Annals of the Four Masters" record the death of Cathal, son of Finguinne, King of Munster, in the year A.D. 737. "There is little doubt" (wrote the translator, Dr. O'Donovan), "from the obsolete language and style of composition of this tract that it was written in or shortly after Cathal's time. The tract appears to have been intended chiefly as a satire on the Abbot and ecclesiastical establishment of St. Fin Barre, Cork; and the description of the Strangers' House of that church presents a graphic but somewhat disgusting picture of the hospitable shelter it afforded to the way-worn stranger who sought its comforts and refreshments. It also contains some curious details of domestic economy, social habits and dress, and some curious historical and topographical facts not now to be found elsewhere, with a good deal of legendary and superstitious reading, which might be found to throw light on some traditions and customs of our own times."

The above narrative, continues Dr. Caulfield, is a proof of the high antiquity of Gille Abbey. Passing over a number of names of ecclesiastics common to the cathedral and this Abbey, we find that in A.D. 1134 the Abbey was refounded for Canons Regular following the Rule of St. Augustine, under the invocation of St. John the Baptist, by Cormac, King of Munster, or, according to others, King of Desmond.

1152. Gilla Oeda O'Mugin, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Fin Barre's Cave, assisted at the Synod of Kells, held under Cardinal John Paparo, Legate a latere to the Pope. Gilla, who died in 1172, was celebrated by the Irish historians for his many virtues. He was called the Chief Prelate for devotion, wisdom, and chastity in all Ireland, sanctified by God above, and a man full of God's blessing. From this Bishop the place was called Gille Abbey.

1174. Dermot, King of Munster, son of the founder, confirmed the grant made by his father, with additions. The following were witnesses to this charter: Donat, Abbot of Maigue; Gregory, of Cunuga; and Eugene, of Ardmore.

1248. The Abbot paid a fine of £20 imposed on him into the Exchequer.

(2) "MacConglinne's Vision," with a translation, was published by Professor Kuno Meyer, in 1892.

1293. April 21. Brother Thomas, Canon of the Church de Antro Barre, or Gill Abbey, near Cork, announced to the King the deposition from the Abbotship of Brother Gilbert O'Brogy, of the same. The King writes to William de Vesey, Justiciary of Ireland, that although the letters are somewhat deceptive, not mentioning how the church became vacant, grants licence, commanding them to elect an Abbot, devout, fit to rule their church, and useful, and faithful to the King and to Ireland. The King also gives power that if the election be canonically confirmed, the Justiciary may receive the customary fealty, and restore the temporalities in the King's name, etc. This item is taken from the Calendar of Documents, Ireland, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, by H. J. Sweetman, B.A.; and it is worth noting that there is a discrepancy of over 100 years between it and that stated by Archdall, who records it as occurring in 1191, an error repeated in Cardinal Moran's edition of Archdall's "Monasticon"—for there can be but little doubt that the document which passed through Mr. Sweetman's hands in the Record Office, London, was the original one.
1300. The Abbot was indicted at Cork for receiving and protecting thieves and felons. He pleaded that he formerly paid a considerable fine for that offence before John Wogan, Justiciary of Ireland. The jury acquitted him.
1303. A licence was granted to this convent to elect an Abbot in the room of G—, lately deceased.
1338. Thomas, the Abbot, indicted John FitzWalter and others for cutting down a number of trees in his wood at Cloghan, Co. Cork, value £100, and carrying away the same by force of arms.
1357. Thomas O'Fin, Canon of this house, was elected Abbot.
1359. Maurice was Abbot, who resigned when the temporalities were restored to William, the newly elected Abbot.
1488. The following is a translation of the original document mentioned above. The ruins of the castle of Clogh Philip (the vil. or house mentioned therein) lie a little to the west of St. Ann's Hill, Blarney, which castle, from the date of a stone in its wall, was built long subsequent to the period of this deed:—"Be it known that I, John, son of Richard, son of Symon de rede Bared, lord of Cloyth Philyb, have granted my vil. of Cloyth Philyb (Clogh Philip), with the meadows, mills, etc., between the river of the valley of Philip on the north to the border of the vil. of Temayn on the south, and from the little stream which is near Magmucy on the east to the little stream which is near Gort Donchaymoir on the west, from me, etc., to Eugene, son of Thadeus, son of Cormac McKathriayg (McCarthy), his heirs, etc.; so that Eugene, his heirs, etc., shall pay all the incumbrances of the said vil., viz., the due income of the Irish princes out of the first issue of the said vil., viz., ten pence yearly, in testimony of which I appoint Thadeus O'Leyn, my executor, etc. Given at Cork on the morrow of St. John the Baptist, Anno Domini MCCCCLXXXVIII., and of the reign of King Henry the Seventh, three. Present, Master Dyonisius O'Herllahy, Canon of Cork, and Bachelor of Law; Dominus Cornelius O'Flanyn, Abbot of the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist of the Cave of St. Fynbarry, near Corke; Cormac, son of Donald McKarthrayg (McCarthy); Thadeus Oley, etc., in testimony of which, and on account of the want of the proper seal, I have caused the seal of John Crewach (i.e., Creagh), citizen of Cork, to be appended."

1591. By an Inquisition taken this year in Queen Elizabeth's reign this Abbey, containing two acres, with a church, six gardens, and the third part of a water-mill, was granted to Cormac McTeigue McCarthy. The same year the Abbey was regranted to Sir Richard Greneville, Knight.
1596. Amongst "Notes touching the Presidentship of Munster" this year, he (the President) was "also to have a house in Cork, the meetest then being the Abbey of Gilley, and to have all the Bishop of Cork's meadows and ground about Cork, without the which he shall no way at any time be able to lie there." These were necessary for the maintenance of the horses, etc., of his retinue, which always accompanied him on his progress.

Gill Abbey seems during this troubled period to have been a constant subject of dispute, as it was continually falling into the hands of new proprietors. On May 26th, 1600, Sir Robert Cecil, in a letter to Sir George Carew, says: "I formerly wrote to you on behalf of one Mr. Smythe, about to commence a suit against one James O'Moylan for some wrongs done to him by Sir Warham St. Leger, in a controversy concerning Gilley Abbey; as Smythe is the son of an ancient servant of the Queen's to whom I am beholden, I again request you to yield him justice."—(Carew MSS. in Lambeth Palace).

Writing in 1644, Mr. De la Boullay le Gouz, the foreigner above alluded to, mentions that "Opposite this well (Sundays Well) are the ruins of a monastery founded by St. Guillebe; there is a cave which extends far under the ground, where they say St. Patrick resorted often for prayer."—(Crocker's edition).

In the year 1738 Gill Abbey Castle fell down, after standing isolated for 980 years. Its site is now part of the ground on which the Queen's College is built. In 1745 whatever remains then left of Gill Abbey were entirely demolished.

The excavations alluded to at the head of this paper brought to light a large quantity of human bones, mixed with those of animals. One grave built of masonry, covered over with flags, contained one entire skeleton. The kist was seven feet long, nineteen inches at the head, and twelve at the foot. At the top were two little walls forming a receptacle for the head to rest in; there were no signs of timber or cerement of any kind, and the head lay towards the west, which would signify that it may have been the grave of a cleric. It is also said that a stone was found with a rudely incised cross, probably a tombstone.

[The bones here referred to were collected and placed in an ossuary which was erected by Dr. Sullivan, the then President of the Cork Queen's College, in the college grounds. This structure apparently tumbled down in a short time; and the appeal for funds for its re-erection appears to have proved a failure. The following lines on the unfortunate ossuary appeared in the "Cork Weekly Examiner" in May, 1895, by a writer signing himself 204c 3e4n4le:]

"Why do you prate of 'the sands of time,'
To leave your footsteps in manhood's prime?
What is the use of your sighs and tears
To the lapse of full five hundred years?
Why do you toil till your hair is grey,
Then, like a meteor, pass away?
For centuries pass o'er the good and true,
And scatter the relics of Gilla Hugh.

"This is the story: Ages had flown,
 Gill Abbey had not a stone on a stone,
 Yet its grand old name on our memory rings
 As the school to which came the sons of Kings.
 Its Abbot, Gill Aedha O'Mughin, brave,
 Had scattered the Danes in the Lee's fair wave,
 With his warrior monks and his young Culdees—
 All passed like the breath of the summer breeze.

"But a good man gathered the sacred bones
 In a little tomb of the Abbey stones;
 And bravely it bore the wild wind's shock
 On the edge of the steep Gill-Abbey rock.
 But only a while they rest in the clay,
 The limestone rock must be quarried away.
 Up with the bones then, again, not far,
 To the cemetery of St. Fin Barr.

"There they are laid, with no cross to tell,
 No burning taper; no passing bell;
 The stranger's foot may tread on the spot,
 For nothing reminds him 'Forget me not.'
 The summer trees their branches toss
 O'er many sculptured Celtic cross:
 Forgotten by all, but the passing breeze,
 Are the sacred bones of the old Culdees.

"And the little tomb? 'Tis scattered abroad
 A shapeless heap on the fair, green sod;
 Its sculptured angels, of ages past,
 Broken, defaced, through the winter's blast.
 The old Culdees and brave Gilla Hugh
 Are but names of the past to me and you;
 But their souls are enjoying Heaven's ray,
 Around God's white throne, in unendless day."']

The writer of these lines was our well-known member, Mr. John Fitzgerald, who has informed me that after the Gilla Hugh remains were removed to St. Finbarr's Cemetery the fragments of the ossuary were set up and are still to be seen in that cemetery, thanks to Mr. Heffernan, its late superintendent.

THE RISE OF LITERATURE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN CORK.

From the establishment of a printing press in any city must date the era of a new phase in its literature. Ninety-three years elapsed, so far as can be ascertained, between the setting up of a printing press in Dublin and Cork. The first book printed in Ireland was the Book of Common Prayer, printed by Humphrey Powell, Dublin, in 1551. Thus Dublin was nearly a century in advance of Cork in the noble art of printing.

Yet in these days the fame of many Corkmen had already gone out into

all lands. The works that they produced were printed in foreign cities; they could not be printed at home for several reasons at that time. Many of the most eminent Irish authors were enrolled in different ecclesiastical orders abroad; and their works were consequently of a theological character. We have Dr. William Thirry, born at Cork, of which he was subsequently Roman Catholic Bishop, publishing a "Panegyric on St. Patrick," at Douay, in 1616. Dr. Coppinger, also a native of Cork, wrote about the same time "A Mnemosynum to the Catholics of Ireland." John Ponce, a Franciscan friar, born in Cork, after filling various ecclesiastical preferments, became Guardian of the College of St. Isidore at Rome, where he published an entire course of philosophy, forming an immense folio. These examples will be sufficient to show the nature of the subjects generally treated on by Irishmen who settled abroad.

There is one man who hails from the west of our county, Philip O'Sullivan Bear, who published at Lisbon, in 1621, a very extraordinary work, entitled, "A Compendium of the Catholic History of Ireland" (written in Latin).*) The history of this man, as well as that of his family, is a most romantic one. His biographer says: "His ancestors were noted for their disaffection to the English government; and for the part they took in the great rebellion in Munster about the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the Spaniards landed at Kinsale. Our Philip inherited the hatred of his family to the English, which he had sufficiently discovered in his Catholic history. He went abroad and lived altogether in Portugal and Spain, where he was a sea captain under King Philip IV. He was one of seventeen children, of which number thirteen sons died young men before the battle of Kinsale, and the four remaining children went into banishment to Spain after the surrender of that town. His brother Daniel was shot by a cannon ball in a sea-engagement against the Turks. His sister Helen was lost by shipwreck on her return to Ireland; and his other sister, Leonora, or Norah, took the veil of virginity in Spain. His father died at Corunna, nearly 100 years old; and his mother followed him soon after. He was educated at Compostella; and was the author of numerous other works. Archbishop Ussher and O'Sullivan had some polemical warfare in their day.

The 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries may be considered as the historic periods of Irish history. Until the twelfth century the Annals of Ireland are so much involved in myth that it is almost impossible to distinguish truth from fable; not from any desire of the annalists to record what they did not believe to be true, but from the abundance of the traditions with which they had to deal, oral as well as written. The nature of the contents of any Irish manuscript, with its miscellaneous collection of marvellous tracts, will verify this statement. Even the great "Book of Lismore," for example, and the compilers of the "Annals of the Four Masters," adopted the eclectic principle when compiling their works.

There is a document in existence dated June 5th, 1582, in which is enrolled the names of the parishioners of Christ Church, Cork. They amount to thirty-nine, whom we may take to have been the elite of the city at that time, as we find included the Mayor, Patrick Gallwey; the two Bailiffs, James Creagh and Adam Goold; the Recorder, Andrew Skiddy; the Churchwarden, James Hore; the Schoolmaster, Robert Tyrry; and the Physician, Charles Field. So

(*)The greater portion of this work, translated by Mr. Matthew J. Byrne, was published by Sealy, Dublin, in 1902, and met with a very favourable reception from the "Athenaeum," "Spectator," and other English literary organs.

far we have a perfect parochial organisation about twenty years before the death of Queen Elizabeth.

It was not, however, until the year 1644 that we hear of the existence of a printing press in Cork, when a sermon preached by Dean Worth at the funeral of Richard Boyle, Archbishop of Tuam, was printed here. This sermon was preached in the cathedral of St. Fin Barre, where the Archbishop was buried, in a tomb prepared for himself when Bishop of Cork. There is a broadside (a copy of which is preserved in Cashel Diocesan Library), printed at Cork in 1648, entitled, "A Speech made by the Lord Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of Ireland to the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholics of the City of Kilkenny at the Conclusion of the Peace." Printed at Cork, and are (sic) to be sold at Roche's Buildings, without South Gate, 1648. The seal of the Confederate Catholics is engraved in an extremely rare book, Harold's "Epitome Annalium Orderis Minorum, in vita Lucae Waddingi, Romae," folio, 1662, page 66. In the centre is a plain cross; on the dexter side a crozier; on the sinister side an Irish harp; in base a burning heart; over the cross a cherub, with the legend, "Pro. Deo. Rege. et Patria, Hiberni Unanimes."

The next work is a quarto tract, of 148 pages, of which there is also a copy at Cashel, entitled, "Scripture Evidence for Baptising the Infants of Covenanters, Produced in Cork in Two Sermons." Printed for J. Taylor, widow, and are to be sold at her shop in Cork, 1653. These sermons were also preached by Dean Worth, of Cork. They arose from a dispute between Dr. Worth and one Dr. Harding on the validity of Infant Baptism. This controversy is only interesting in a theological point of view; and is fully treated by John Murcot, who was himself more up in the matter. He says that "upon Thursday, May 19, after my sermon at St. Peter's, Cork, Dr. Harding publicly produced a question (which before he had sent to Dr. Worth), and told the people he was willing to dispute it." The controversy was carried on in the presence of the congregation by way of syllogism, which must have been anything but edifying. The whole matter, however, had a rather ludicrous termination; for one Mr. Hackett, who was somehow engaged in it, inadvertently took a bit of paper on which were some of Dr. Harding's notes, whereupon the latter champion cut the disputation short by "crying out, Perfidiousness, so the people went away as much unsatisfied as they came." This transaction is merely worth narrating to give a glimpse at the state of society in Cork at that time.

The subsequent years that intervened between this and the opening of the next century were very unfavourable to the art of printing. Of the numerous treatises written by Bishop Wetenhall, only one was printed at Cork, a sermon on Psalm lxxvi. v. 10: Cork 1691. This discourse is an allusion to the troubled times that were just then passing away. At the commencement of the eighteenth century a few insignificant tracts were printed, chiefly trials of persons found guilty of felonious acts. These contain nothing worth recording. But the old polemical spirit revived. Dr. Rowland Davies, Dean of Ross, whose fame is so historically connected with Marlborough's campaign and the siege of Cork, had a controversy with a Catholic divine on "The Old Religion." Both sides dealt in compliments. The latter compared the Dean to "Goliath beheaded with his own sword." The Dean's opponent was Dr. Timothy O'Brien, who was born in Cork, and educated in France, who became Superior of the Irish College at Toulouse, and subsequently parish priest of Castlelyons, in this county. [Dr. Caulfield here mentions that he was indebted to Miss Gray, of The Shrubbery, Monkstown, for some curious manuscripts, sermons, and other matter which belonged to her ancestor, Dean Davies.]

But not only the county and city of Cork but all Ireland was aroused by the publication, in 1713, of a work entitled, "Of Drinking to the Memory of the Dead, being the Substance of a Discourse Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Cork on the fourth of November, 1713, by the Bishop of that Diocese, and published at their Unanimous Request." The writer was Dr. Peter Browne, one of the ablest scholars and profound thinkers of his age. The citizens of Cork were now in the full enjoyment of the blessings of peace; and conviviality seemed to be the order of the day. The memory of King William was the *ovum* and *malum* of every entertainment; and some persons had the temerity to introduce this toast in the Bishop's presence. Dr. Browne was in stature a small man; but he possessed a gigantic intellect. He loved to ramble under the trees at Bishopstown with the same enthusiasm as his friend, Berkeley, loved his walk near the Palace of Cloyne; and here by the bank of the little brook, over which he made a bridge and near it a small house, he most probably composed those elaborate treatises, in the composition of which he examined all the learning of the ancients and demonstrated with all the keenness of his philosophic mind, that drinking our absent friends, dead or alive, is a custom derived from the heathen, which served them to all the vilest purposes of wickedness and sin. The amount of research in these small volumes is wonderful indeed. Although we cannot claim Bishop Browne as a Corkman, yet all his works were written here. He laboured amongst us; and his remains now rest beneath the chancel of the new cathedral, conveyed thither with those of Bishop Mann from Bishopstown, under the watchful care of Archdeacon S. M. Kyle, D.D., LL.D.

Whatever may have been the shortcomings of the citizens at this time, they were ever foremost in the establishment of educational and charitable institutions. In the year 1721, "*Pietas Corcagiensis*" was published at Cork, by Samuel Terry. Its author was Henry Maule, Rector of St. Mary Shandon, who gave the ground on which the Green Coat Hospital is erected. It is a thin quarto, and contains an account of the foundation of the hospital, the laws by which it is to be regulated, a list of its benefactors, a catalogue of the library, etc. The two figures of lead, painted in green, with ruffs and bands, which still adorn the piers of the entrance gate, are said to represent the first boy and girl that obtained admission to the hospital. Their names are traditionally recorded in the following couplet:

"Billy Budds and Mary Heafy,
Made of lead, and very heavy."

By a report printed in 1719 there were twenty Protestant schools, some with sufficient, others with fair endowments, then at work in the city and county of Cork.

Amongst the printers of this time who produced works of considerable merit may be mentioned—(1st) George Harrison, who published, in addition to other works, "*A Ballad Opera. A Wonder: or an Honest Yorkshireman*, as it was acted in Cork at the Theatre Royal, Dunscombe's Marsh, by Mr. Dyer's Company of Comedians, Cork, 1741." This theatre was situated where the south-west corner house now stands between Prince's Street and George's Street. Prince's Street was then called Playhouse Lane. (2nd) D. Donoghue, of Broad Lane, who issued a well-printed copy of Leland's "*History of Ireland*," 3 vols. octavo, in 1775. (3rd) William Flynn, at the Shakespeare, near the Exchange, where he published his paper called "*Flynn's Chronicle*," and the "*Modern Monitor*," which appeared in 1771. He also published some of the tracts that were written during the controversy between Michael Servetus, M.D. (Dr. Blair?) and the



ENTRANCE GATE, GREEN COAT HOSPITAL.

Rev. Arthur O'Leary. (4th) Phineas Bagnell and Co., in Castle Street, 1772; and (5th) John Cronin, Grand Parade, 1789.

In January, 1779, appeared an octavo pamphlet of four leaves, called "The Weekly Repository," printed by Thomas Millet Vize, in Broad Lane, price one penny. It usually contained extracts from the "Dublin Evening Post," a pastoral tale, some poetry, and wound up with a question to be discussed, such as "Whether a rich, covetous man can be honest?"

In 1781 was published "The Juvenile Muse," an assemblage of original pieces, with a poem on the Fourth of June, addressed to the supporters of juvenile efforts, written by J. M. Swiney, son of the late Eugene Swiney, printer, Cork. Amongst the poems are "Reflections in Shandon Churchyard."

In 1774 Denis Donoghue, Broad Lane, printed a small volume of poems by James Conolly. The appreciation shown native talent at that time may be judged from the fact that there are 14 pages of subscribers' names appended to the work, all county or city ladies and gentlemen. Conolly was a Macroom man, as we learn from the Panegyrick by Mr. Justin McSwiney prefixed to the poems, and another addressed to him by William O'Herlihy. The most remarkable composition in this curious volume (of which there is a copy amongst Bishop Stopford's pamphlets in the library of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral, vol. 17, No. 2) is an ode of about 177 verses in a kind of dactylic metre.

In 1797 was published a satirical paper of two leaves, entitled, "The Cork Star," printed for William Roderick O'Connor, Upper Cross Street, price 2d. This paper made merry at everybody's expense.

In 1784 Cronin, on the Grand Parade, printed a quarto pamphlet, called "The Prospect of Beauty: a Poem in two parts." It was dedicated to Mrs. Gray, of Lehenagh, a lady who contributed some of the articles to Flynn's "Modern Monitor," and to whom he pays a well-deserved compliment in his preface for her literary accomplishments. All the belles of Cork city are celebrated in this poem, which forms a highly interesting picture of society at this time. He notices Miss Gray, the daughter of his patroness; Miss Digby, then at Bath; Miss Green, of Bachelor's Quay; Miss Isabella O'Connor, and the Miss Capels, daughters of Joseph Capel, Esq., of Cloghroe; Miss Esther Fitzgerald, Corkbeg; Lady Harriet Barnard, Mrs. Sampson Stawell, Mrs. Richard Boyle Townsend, Mrs. Freeman, Castlecor; Mrs. O'Callaghan, Caherduggan; Mrs. Wrixon, Ballygiblin; Mrs. M. Travers, Mrs. R. Armstead, Mrs. R. Dunscombe, Mrs. Gould, Ballygriffin; Mrs. Kilner Brazier, Doneraile; and Mrs. T. Waggett. Every lady of fashion in Cork city and county is here celebrated for some peculiar charm.

Cork at the close of the eighteenth century evidently must have been the centre of a most fashionable and aristocratic circle; and it is worth observing that in the many publications of a public and private nature that appeared at this time there is not an unkind word used, not a breath of suspicion against anyone; all was harmony, and the best of good feeling prevailed amongst all parties.

We have now attempted (Dr. Caulfield writes in conclusion) a very brief outline of the rise of literature and social progress in Cork for over three centuries. . . . It is deeply to be lamented that so few memorials of the past history of our city have come down to us. But if we have aroused the feelings of any persons towards rescuing those fragments that may still exist in obscure corners and out-of-the-way places, uncared for and now unknown, we shall feel gratified and thankful indeed. Though many regard the occurrences of the present time as the only ones worth bestowing a thought on, yet some others may be prevailed on to have a little consideration for the manifold events that happened "in the old time before them."

Dr. Caulfield's Annals of the Parish Church of St. Maria de Shandon, now St. Ann's Shandon, Cork.

THE earliest mention we have of this church, writes Dr. Caulfield,⁽¹⁾ occurs in the Decretal Epistles of Pope Innocent the Third, which is one of the most interesting as well as most ancient of the records we possess relating to the entire diocese of Cork. It is dated at the Vatican, 2 Ides April, 1199; and is "directed to the Bishop of Cork and his successors, canonically elected, for ever, about the confirmation of privileges." It goes on to recite, "The place itself in which the church is situated, with all its appurtenances and liberties, within and without the City, the church of St. Mary in the Mountain, and the church of the Blessed Michael, with the cemetery in which they are situated, and the courts round about."

This is an evidence of the great antiquity of the cemetery of Shandon, as well as its extent: the word *atria*, which we have translated "courts," having then signified, according to Du Cange, the precincts dedicated to the burial of the bodies of the faithful. Of the church of St. Michael, then in the same locality, we now know nothing; but it may be observed that churches dedicated to St. Michael were usually built on lofty eminences, such as Mount St. Michael in Normandy and St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. In the passage above quoted from the Decretal Epistles, the church of St. Mary is styled as in the Mountain, which would be aptly applied to the Cork church of St. Michael.

377. Edward III. informs the Escheator of Ireland that he had learned from an Inquisition that Peter De Cogan lately died seized (*inter alia*) of two parts of half the manor of Shandon in Ocourblethan, worth 20s. 7d.

1566, 26th May. Dr. Caulfield gives under this date a copy of the grant unto Andrew Skydie, gent., in the 8th year of Elizabeth's reign, of the scite and precincte of the howse of Franciscans neare unto Corke; and also the conditions of the permission given by King Charles to Andrew Skiddy, of Cork, and his wife, Richard Coppinger and his wife, and Stephen Creagh and his wife, to sell the Abbey of St. Francis, near the north gate of said city; but as the connection between this abbey and St. Maria de Shandon is not quite clear, the full particulars of this grant and permission are not reproduced in the present paper.

1607, June 3. Sir Henry Brounker, Lord President of Munster, died, and is buried in St. Mary's, Cork.

1617, April 2. William, by God's providence Bishop of Corke, Cloyne, and Ross, to the inhabitants of St. Francis' Abbey, called Shandon Abbey St. Cathrin, without the north gate of the cittie of Corke, greeting. Know ye that I have, by my ordinarie power, as far as the laws of the land will suffer, appointed and do appoint the Vicar of St. Marie Shandon and his successors Vicars of same and Gillabbey, and the inhabitants thereof, to have cure of souls and persons adjacent to said parish church of St. Marie Shandon, willing said inhabitants to resort at all times to the said parish church of St. Marie Shandon, and pay the Vicar such rights as for weddings, christenings, and burials, etc.

⁽¹⁾In a paper originally published in the "Cork Constitution" newspaper.



ST. ANNE SHANDON, CORK.

1672. Arthur Hyde, A.M., Rector. Names of the Vestry of the parish of St. Mary Shandon, chosen by the minister and churchwardens, with the consent of the parish, May 27, 1672: Tho. Goodman, Philip Mathewes, Noblet Dunscombe, Tho. Farren, James Hinch, Pat Ronayne, Tho. Willes, William Mallowbourne, P. Harris, Wa. Crompton, Robert . . . John Weekes, Richard Wallis, John Taylor, Walter Andrews, Wm. Snary, Christopher Crofts, Robert Rogers, Edward Hore, Martin Boobier, Edward House, John Morley, Nicholas Hubbard.

1682, Aug. 20. Setting out of the seates in the body of the church and south ile (sic) by the minister and churchwardens and parishioners, according to the numbers, as followeth:—

1. Roger Ostine, Saml. Thirlsley, William Haslip.
2. William Cowell, John Taylor, William Taylor.
3. John Bonman, John Manning, Arthur Atwell.
4. Petter Smart, Larreince Hooper.
5. Richard Deane.
6. Joseph Haddock, John Hawkins.
7. Mrs. Edward, Mrs. Taylor, Robt. Webb.
8. Robert Rogers.
9. — Cooke.
10. Ald. Noblett Dunscombe.
11. — Garrald, Christo. Roberts.
12. John Norey.
23. The Minister, Mr. Crofts, Mrs. Goodman.
24. Widow Hull.
25. Richard Johnson, Robert Easington.
26. John Cooker, John Gwine, Nich. Haydon.
27. Alderman James Hunk, Nicholas Greene, Mrs. Gwine.
28. John Harris.
29. John Weekes.
30. Edward House.
31. John Spread.
32. John Hall, Sym. Morgan (obiit).
39. Ald. Richard Covert.
40. Mrs. Farren.
41. Mrs. Murphy.
42. Tim Healy.
43. Hugh Millard, Corpl. Britton.
44. Thomas O'Shie, Edward Williams, Peter Lethum.
45. William and Arthur Eason.
46. Robr. Spencer.
47. Jno. Potts, Christo. Forward.
48. Edward Kent, George Williams, Will Wooldridge.
49. John Harris, John Hamlyne.

Walter Neale, Rector and Vic.

1699, June 25. Collected in the parish of St. Mary Shandon, Cork, upon receipt of a Brief bearing date April 17, 1699, for the relief of the Vaudois and other Protestant refugees, the sum of £71 12s. 3d. Witness our hands this 25 June, 1699—Walter Neale, Rect. and Vicar; Edmund Knapp, W. Masters, Churchwardens; Mr. Peter Crooke since gave 13s. Mem.—This to be put in the Parish Book.

1704. The following thirty were chosen by the Minister and Ch. Wardens of the Parish of St. Mary Shandon, Nov. 7, 1704, as standing Vestrymen, any five of them with the minister, and both or one churchwarden, to form a quorum: Mr. Ald. Christ. Crofts, Ald. Edmond Knapp, Mr. Nich. Hubbard, Abraham Morris, Henry Lumly, Noblett Rogers, Thos Newenham, John Spread, Warham Jemmatt, Thos. Brown, Wm. Masters, Joseph Franklyn, James Morrison, Hugh Milar, John Taylour, Joseph Ruddock, Wm. Cockerell, John Flemming, Godwyn Swift, Thomas Austen, John and Joseph Hamley, James Kingston, Daniel Perdriau, George Pearcey, Hugh Hovell, Jonathan Perry, Danl. Pearse, Francis Mansfield, Wm. Pope.
1705. Mr. Thos. Browne and Mr. Noblett Rogers, churchwardens.
1706. From the return of the auditors appointed for examining the various accounts, it appears that there was due for building the church £162 6s. 9d.; other disbursements for ecclesiastical fees £1 15s. 6d., building the walls of the churchyard £25; entire amount, £249 2s. 3d. A rate order to be made for same.

The old Parish Register of St. Maria de Shandon is written on vellum; it is 22½ inches by 13 inches, and contains 54 membranes, including the covers, which with the first leaf are much torn and the writing effaced. The first entry occurs Aug. 18, 1674: Samuel, son of John Olive and Ann, his wife, was bap(tised). The following are amongst the earliest entries in the old Register:—

- 1685, Aug. 9. Mr. Boothier, a Dutchman, bur(ied).
 Dec. 9. Two outlandish men drowned, bur.
 Dec. 22. Theodosia Boobier, bur.
- 1687, May 8. Richard, s(on) of Henry Newton, drowned, bur.
- 1688, Feby. 15. John Venson, of Limbrick, bur.
- 1699, Sep. 4. John Vaick, a Frenchman, drowned, bur.
- 1701, May 20. John Roman, a Blackamor, aetat 19, bap.
- 1702, June 8. Elias Voster and Joan Schurmans, mar(ried).
- 1703, July 29. Daniel, s. of Elias Voster, bap.
- 1709, Mar. 28. A Frenchman's child, bur.
 Jun. 29. Andris Emmerick and Catherine Cronin, Protestants of the Palatinate, mar.
- 1711, Oct. 26. Matthias Lord and Diana Rheda, mar.
 Jan. 20. James Fountain and Lucretia Leserve, mar.
 Oct. 12. Henry Cape Coast, an adult Blackamor belonging to Capt. Paul, bap.
- 1716, June 23. A child of blind Daniel's, bur.
1721. John Wakeman, a black, aetat 23 (bur?).
1722. John, s. of Capt. John McQueen, H. M. Reg. Foot, bap.
- 1724, Jan. 17. Morgan, s. of Sweeney, the Barber, bap.
1725. Two twins, a soldier's, bap.
- 1706, Oct. 24. Mr. Noblett Rogers being chosen Sheriff, the parish nominated Mr. James Morrison churchwarden in his room.
1707. Collected in the parish of St. Mary Shandon, Corke, by virtue of a brief for relieving the distressed inhabitants of Lisnegarvy, who were destroyed by fire, April 20, 1707, the sum of £22 8s. 4d.—Henry Maule, Rect. and Vic.
- 1707, Dec. 17. Mr. Daniel Thresher and Benj. Winthrop, churchwardens.
 Nov. 17. At a Vestry Mr. Thomas Brown delivered his account of

- £12 10s. 4d. expended by him for repairs, books, etc., laid out on the parish church; also £20 by Mr. Daniel Thresher for mending the clock, new tiling good part of the roof, glassing, forms for seats, candles, etc.; with £7 9s. 8d. for further repairs. An applotment made as usual.
- 1709, April 25. Mr. James Hingston and Mr. John Smith, churchwardens; Mr. Ald. William Ballard's petition regarding a seat to be considered.
- 1709, July 4. The churchwardens state that they have received but £36 2s. 7d. out of the rate of £40 ordered by the Vestry Nov. 17, 1708. What small matters remain of the present rate to be laid out by Henry Maule for badges for the poor of the parish.
- 1710, April 10. Mr. Wm. Pope and Mr. John Flemmyng, churchwardens. The late churchwardens delivered in their account for £18, laid out for bread and wine for the Holy Communion, and repairs of the church.
- 1711, April 2. Mr. Christopher Forward and Mr. Francis Gray, churchwardens. The late churchwardens present for £20 laid out on the church, etc.
1712. Mr. Richard Croker and Mr. Thos. Eason, churchwardens. £17 19s. 5½d. laid out on the church.
1713. Mr. William Hales and Mr. William Roberts, churchwardens.
- 1714, April 5. Mr. Edward Briggs and Mr. Will Parmee, ch. w., ordered that a new gate be built to the churchyard; and the wall repaired as far as the burying place.
- 1715 (?). "Resolved, that the parish have a right to the ancient way from the E. part of the churchyard leading down to the river, which way through the quarry being now stopped up by Mr. Hen. Archdeacon, who has promised to give the parish a broad road, joining to the north wall of the ground lately enclosed by him. Resolved—Therefore, that unless the said road be made within three months, that the Parish will open their ancient way through the said quarry."
- Item.—That the cabin erected on the corner of N.E. part of the ch. yard be pulled down.
- It.—That the remaining part of the ch. yard be enclosed with a stone wall, etc., when the masons have finished the building of the charity school and almshouse.
- It.—That the new ch. w. do provide four poles, with hooks and small chains, to be ready to assist at any casual fire in the parish; and that a Blue coat be provided for the Bedle (sic) to clear the parish of strange beggars, to receive 40s. a year.
- 1716, Feby. 8. Articles of agreement between Henry Maule, minister to St. Mary Shandon, Henry Whitcroft, and George Murphy, churchwardens, and Darby Slattery: said S. to have permission during the will of said minister, etc., to go into and from his garden by the small door, made in the stone wall, just between Mr. Maule's garden, at all seasonable times in the day, through the old churchyard. During said permission, no one shall carry any dung or other combustible matter, to or from said garden, through the churchyard, nor raise any buildings. Slattery is to pay yearly during said permission, to the charity schools of Shandon, eight shillings every New Year's Day.
- 1716, April 2. There is a building now erecting towards the S.E. part of the old churchyard of St. Mary Shandon, being 88 feet long by 48 feet broad, designed as a charitable foundation for educating poor Protestant children; and whereas a house, both for the master and mistress, is now in good forwardness on the same spot of ground; and an almshouse for decayed

Protestant inhabitants is far advanced, which buildings are erecting by some casual benefactions, etc. Now I, Henry Maule, Rect. and Vic., etc., do for ever quit claim to any title I may have in said buildings, not doubting but my worthy successor will promote this charitable work.

- 1716, August 12. The schools attached to Green Coat Hospital were opened. The Mayor and Corporation of Cork attended Shandon Church in their robes. The children marched through the streets. The Judges of Assize, then in Cork, attended the solemnity. The sermon was preached by the incumbent. The sum of £48 was collected. A noble lord present gave £9; and four moydores (foreign coins) were sent by the Earl of Inchiquin, who was prevented by indisposition from attending.

1716. A Library was established, which, from the fragment that now remains, seems to have contained some valuable books. The first benefactor to it was Hon. Brigadier General Stearne. Subsequent gifts were made by the Incumbent, Henry Arkwright, Esq., Right Hon. Earl of Inchiquin, Mr. Daniel Tresher, Mr. Richard Pomeroy, Mr. Henry Sheares, Sheriffs Austen and Croker; Rev. Mr. Baldwin presented a pair of globes.

£33 per annum was left by Captain Roger Bertridge, for the relief of children of poor Protestant soldiers of this place; and £30 for poor old soldiers themselves.

Subsequently 20 spinning wheels were presented and a bounty of £35, so that the girls were employed spinning hemp and flax. The girls in a short time wore no other linen but that wrought by their own hands; and provided for the boys' wants the same way, such a quantity of yarn being spun by them as afterwards made 500 yards of cloth.

- 1717, June 27. A clergyman from the country seeing the schools left a piece of gold with his good wishes; immediately after a gentleman of the long robe left 40s. A charity sermon preached by the Dean in St. Peter's Church brought £31.

1716. Mr. Michael Campion and Mr. Daniel Engain, churchwardens. Resolved—That a new pair of gates and piers be made at the west end of the new churchyard; and the wall at each side pallisadoed with iron rails, as far as Mr. Thresher's house on the one side and the little lane joining to the north end in the other; that the thatched cabbins erected in the north-east corner of the old churchyard and built on the ground and part of the wall of the said parish church are a great nuisance. The churchwardens to eject John Clery and his son-in-law, M. Mahony, unless they pull down the houses within fifteen days.

1717. Henry Whitcroft and George Murphy, churchwardens.

- 1717, May 3. That the parish church being much too small for the parishioners, Resolved—That it be enlarged; and that £200 be immediately apportioned to cover the work, on the inhabitants of the parish; agreed, that the manner of enlarging the church be on the south side by taking down the present south wall and carrying it further, in order to procure more room; and the lengthening the church to the east, by making a chancel, or carrying the east wall further into the churchyard.

- 1717, May 20. Whereas, the roof is out of the church again; and by the increase of Protestants, the inhabitants of the parish have no opportunity of resorting to Divine Service. (Resolved)—That £250, instead of £200, be raised for repairing the parish church and providing seats.

- 1718, April 14. John Cooke and Francis Rowland, ch. w. The gates and

piers made at the entrance of the west end of the new church being decayed, new ones be made.

1719, March 30. James Perry and Samuel Croker, ch. w. Ordered that a vestry room be built in the N.E. angle of this church, at a sum not exceeding £32 5s.

1720, April 18. Ambrose Jackson and James Fitzmorris, ch. w.

1721, May 22. Ambrose Jackson and John Harding, ch. w. £30 for new tyling the church.

1722. John Harding and James Huleatt, ch. w.

1723, March 28. Stephen Grant and Paul Meyles, ch. w.

1724, April 6. Hugh Cooke and John Lane, ch. w.

1725, April 6. Hen. Gerald and Peet Mon, ch. w. Resolved—That in consequence of the defect in the collections received in the church, which will not answer for the maintenance of the foundling children and aged poor, that henceforward they shall have their allowance from the parish rates. Since it appears that the great law of necessity and the common law of general custom of this Kingdom, abundantly justify the making such rates for the support of such poor children. That this was formerly the usual method in the parishes of the city and suburbs of Dublin appears by a letter from Mr. Benjamin Everard, ch. w.

1738. By the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, Hugh Armagh, Wyndam C. Henry Boyle.

Whereas the parish of St. Mary Shandon, in the N. sub. of Cork, is very large, etc.; and the present church cannot contain the parishioners to hear Divine Service, also some part of the parish lyeth at too great distance, etc.

To remedy such inconveniences, the Right Hon. Earl of Kildare and Right Hon. James Earl of Barrymore, alternate patrons of said parish, have consented, under their hands and seals, to the dividing of said parish of St. Mary into two separate parishes, the new one to be called the parish of St. Anne, which is to be the parish church of that part of the parish of St. Mary Shandon set forth by the following description, viz.:—

On the E. of Shandon Street, als. Mallow Lane, going up above the old church, to begin at the N. corner house of Edmond Murraght, turning up out of Mallow Lane to Church Lane; and so leading to the new church, taking in the whole N. side of that lane called Church Lane, and all the houses and back-lanes, lying on N. side of the new church, and from the new churchyard gate S. directly to Shandon Castle, the small house S. to Shandon Castle, the small house on the N.E. side of said castle, with the N.E. ground and twig garden, adjoining to the glebe garden, excluding all the S. part of Shandon Castle Hill, hanging to the river, and the whole the south side of Knockers' Hole down directly to the Sand Quay; excluding also all that part of the parish that runs southward from the lower end of Knockers' Hole by the Sand Quay to Alderman Knapp's house, and so on to the north quay in the old parish.

The new parish to run from Knockers' Hole to the small river running under Lady's Bridge, excluding any houses that may hereafter be built on the ground to Thomas Hillgrove's houses on the south side of Church Lane, and all the ground between said houses and the houses now in the possession of the Tivy's and their families, as far as Shandon Castle, said ground being now used for dung hills, with the whole south side of Church Lane; the new parish to run on the other side of the

small river under Lady's Bridge, taking in the whole marsh called Knapp's Marsh, with Cole's Dock, Lavite's Buildings, north and south, and as far as the parish runs into the country eastward, with the adjacent tythes, with the street called Lady's Well Street, with all the lanes and houses on both sides of Lady's Bridge, Youghal Hill and the road to Youghal; and so on northwards, taking in Ballivlane and Dublin Hill, with all the adjacent tythes belonging, as far as they go out that way into the country, and from Dublin Hill down again on the east side, all that part of the north sub. called Water's Mills, and so on still through Mallow Lane to the large front house of Edmond Murrough, at the north corner of Church Lane, with all their several lanes and back-houses northward of the division on the west side of Mallow Lane, to begin at the north corner house of Robert Linnehan, turning upon the N. side to the Milk Market, and so up on the east side of Fair Lane, taking in all that side, with all the back lanes, down Peacock Lane, Gray's Buildings, and up to Fair Hill on the east side, from Charles Duggan's into the lower end of the Fair Place, with Killnapp, Killbarry, with all the adjacent tythes as far as the parish ran into Mallow-road, etc.; and so down from Mallow Road, all the west side of Water's Mills and Mallow Lane to Robert Linnehan's house, turning up to the Milk Market before mentioned.

And whereas there are several glebes in the parish of St. Mary Shandon, in order to the better division of said parish of St. Mary Shandon the Rev George Tisdall, the present incumbent, has, under his hand and seal, not only consented to the division, but, further, that that part of the glebe called St. Katherine's in that part of the rock near St. Francis' Abbey southward, and leading into Blarney Lane, near to the Old Market Place northward, the said glebe being now out of lease, but formerly held by the late Dr. Mahony and Daniel Healy, in value about £13 per annum, shall belong to the new church of St. Anne, with the house at the glebe near Shandon Castle, now in the possession of John Hopkins, etc., and the houses now in the possession of the Tivy's and other families, said premises, and being so erected into a new parish by the name of the parish of St. Anne, to be separated from the present parish of St. Mary Shandon, with all rights, with a rector, churchwardens, a parish clerk, etc.—reserving to the Earl of Kildare and the Earl of Barrymore, their heirs, etc., their alternate turns of presentation.

To be enrolled in the Rolls Office of H. M. H. C. of Chancery in this Kingdom within six months after the date. Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, 27th Oct., 1738.

1750. This year was cast the peal of bells of historic fame, through the celebrated lines of Father Prout, whose mortal remains sleep peacefully in the family-vault beneath the shadow of the steeple he rendered so famous—

“The Bells of Shandon, that sound so grand on
The pleasant waters of the river Lee.”

The cathedral bells were cast in 1751 by the same bell founders, as was also the bell at Lower Shandon, the gift of Daniel Thresher, now rehung in the steeple of the new church at Shanakiel.

1757. James Wulcat Creed and John Deyos, ch. w.

- 1758, March 28. Will Raymond and Edward Creed, ch. w. Agreed, that £8 be apportioned for the maintenance of Thomas Tivy, the younger, as clerk assistant in said parish, as there are two churches for Divine Service in it.

- 1758, June 5. It appears there is due by Mr. Wm. Alwin, clerk of the parish, the sum of £40 18. 9d. to the poor, on account of a legacy left by the late Rev. Dean Ward, the minister to take legal steps to compel the payment.
- 1759, April 16. William Fuller and John Exham, ch. w.
 May 22. The late ch.w. delivered over the church plate, viz., two silver flaggons, two silver chalices, two silver pattens, one large silver patten for consecrating the bread, one large do. for collecting the alms—all belonging to the lower church; also one large silver flaggon, one silver chalice, one large silver basin, and one small silver patten, belonging to the upper church.
1760. John Scott and William Cormack, churchwardens. Ordered that an oaken box be provided, with proper locks, for holding the Registry books.
 Item.—Six pounds of candles to illuminate the steeple of Upper Shandon, 2s. 2d.; a lock and key for the stocks at the lower church, 10d.; porters for carrying the parish chest, 8d.
 June 30. £61 4s. was apportioned for defraying the charges of erecting and maintaining 102 lamps in the parish.
1761. William Brearley and William Coles, ch. w.
 Feby. 26. The sum of £80 to be apportioned to the new roofing of the parish church.
 Aug. 10th. The parishioners having contributed towards buying and erecting an organ in the new-built church in the parish, which has regularly accompanied Divine Service for several months past, but is now in bad order; it is agreed that the sum of £11 7s. 6d. be raised on the inhabitants of the parish by a rate for the repairing of the organ.
- 1762, April 13. Michael Casey and Peter Johnson, ch. w.
- 1763, April 5. John Andrews and John Wood, ch. w. Samuel Tower was appointed one of the Parish Beadles. Gallery seat No. 50 transferred to Mr. John Yeamans, deceased, vacant; the seat was given to Pierce Gilthin, paying the reps. of Yeamans £7, with 6s. 8d. regd. the same.
- 1764, April 24. Richard Archer and Westcourt Wood, ch. w.
 June 7. Moses, Thos., and Randal Wills' seat 54 gallery, is vacant, none of the Wills being resident in the parish.
- 1765, April 8. James Bennett and Edward Purdon, ch. w.
- 1766, April 1. Joseph Harrison and James Johnson, ch. w.
 June 19. That the ch. w. get the Bible in the lower church new bound, a green cloth for the Communion Table, kneeling cushions, two new crimson Prayer Books for the lower church; enlarge the parish fire engines, get the engine house re-built, the organ repaired, enclose the bellows, a covering for the reading desk in the lower church; and that the tables reciting the benefactions to the poor be removed from the south side to the front of the gallery, on the north side of the lower church.
- 1767, Mar. 12. A door to be opened upon the north side of the great gate of the lower churchyard.
 April 20. Daniel Connor and Samuel Rowland, ch. w.
- 1768, Mar. 3. Thomas Harris and Robert Gay, ch. w. The north aisle of the upper church to be repaired.
- 1769, April 5. Samuel Rowland and Michael Wood, ch. w. That James Stephens be dismissed from his employment of organist. Gallery seat 46 regd. in the name of Rowland Delahoide be now regd. in that of

Richard Rowland. Edward Connell is appointed organist, at a yearly salary of £20, to attend Sundays, holidays, and other occasions as may seem fit to the minister and churchwardens.

- 1770, Mar. 28. Richard Harris and William Forster, churchwardens. 52s. yearly to James Heany for blowing the bellows of the organ, to be paid weekly. June 17. Ordered that for the future £1 12s. 8d. be yearly allowed to the Green Man of this parish to buy four pair of shoes and four pair of stockings each year, instead of the former allowance, which, in the opinion of the Vestry, was insufficient.

[Dr. Caulfield does not give any distinct information as to what were the duties of the Green Man.]

- 1771, April 17. Thomas Boles and Robert Johnson, ch. w.

Feby. 20. A ground seat, 34, transferred from Mr. John Harding to Mr. Thomas Richmond. Do. from Mr. Hugh Millerd to Mr. Elias Mainandue. A gallery seat from Thomas Randall Wills to Mr. Richard Moore.

- 1772, April 2. Richard Moore and Thomas Richmond, ch. w.

Feby. 11. The lower part of the steeple of the upper church, leading into the church, to be plaistered and ceiled; the churchyard wall raised, coped, and glassed.

- 1773, April 10. Peter Blackmore and William Jameson, ch. w.

April 20. 4s. per annum to Robert Stotesbury for keeping the fire engine in repair; and playing same regularly once in three months in the presence of the ch. w.

May 12. An order of the Corporation for badging the poor; a Committee was elected to recommend such helpless poor as belong to the parish to be badged and admitted to beg within the parish and city of Cork.

July 12. The sum of £4 1s. 6½d. has been detained by the inhabitants of Sunday's Well from the parish rate, under pretence of an exemption from parish charges, which the inhabitants of Sunday's Well pretend to have. (Dr. Patrick Blair, V., Thomas Brooks and Thomas Harding, and ch. w.)

[The words here given by Dr. Caulfield in parenthesis would seem to show that Dr. Blair was the leader of those who declined to pay the rate referred to.]

- 1774, Jan. 18. Resolved—That the aisle of the church shall be removed to the centre of the church; and that the pulpit and reading desk be brought forward, and that the seats shall be changed according to the plan produced by Mr. Peter Blackmore.

April 5. Joseph McClure and Richard Sanders, ch. w.

- 1775, April 18. Andrew Hill and William Bright, ch. w. £4 11s. for cloathing the green man and sexton.

April 27. A dispute having arisen between several of the parishioners concerning the situation and dimensions of their pews, it is agreed that the seat on the east side of the reading desk, with the two next seats, be extended to the south wall, and allotted, 1st, to Mr. Piercy, 2nd, Mr. John Cole, 3rd, Mr. Pope Gray; the seat west of the reading desk to the rector; the east seat in the gallery to Mr. Thomas Bowles; that south of the Communion Table to be reduced by Mr. Christ. Waggett to its former length; all changes to be at their proper costs; agreed before the Bishop of Cork.

- 1776, April 8. John Godwin and Francis Wise, ch. w. £4 11s. for the cloathing of the green man and sexton; £12 10s. for his support.

[This item occurs in most of the years under-named down to 1796.]

- 1777, April 1. James Smith and Joseph Harman, ch. w.
 1778, April 1. William Green and Richard Williams, ch. w.
 Sepr. 24. Proposal from Mr. Henry Holmes for lighting and keeping in repair the lamps of the parish for one pound one shilling for each lamp by the year, referred to the Mayor. A committee to recommend to the Mayor such persons as are willing to furnish the parish with lamp irons, lamp posts, etc.; and mark out the places where the lamps shall be erected.
 1779, April 5. John Robinson and Robert Kempe, ch. w.
 1780, March 28. Henry Holmes and Richard Garde, ch. w.
 October 17. Mr. Michael Cummins, ch. w., vice Holmes rem. from parish.
 1781, April 17. William Harris and John Bond, ch. w.
 1782, April 1. William Walsh and James Wise, ch. w.
 1783, April 22. Richard Down and William Walsh (?) ch. w.
 1784, April 12. Thomas Gonnell and Thomas Shinkwin, ch. w.
 1785, March 28. John Good and William Hendnett, ch. w.
 1787, April 2. Wm. Tayler and John Horneybrooke, ch. w.
 1788, March 24. Thomas Rose and Henry Douthat, ch. w.
 Dec. 22. Henry Delamaine, Esq., organist, vice Connell, deceased.
 Whereas, Mr. Delamaine has kindly undertaken the office merely out of humanity to the family of Connell; and as his engagements at the cathedral render it impossible for him to attend personally, we will be satisfied with such deputy as he shall appoint to do his duty. Resolved—That the thanks of the parish be presented to Mr. Delamaine.
 1789, April 13. Nathan Smith and Richard Kempe, ch. w.
 1790, April 5. Daniel Crone and Robert Mellure, ch. w.
 1791, April 25. Jacob Briggs and Jas. Weshay, ch. w.
 1792, Jan 12. William Gibson, organ builder, to keep the organ in repair for £8 yearly.
 April 10. John Simcockes and Abraham Connell, ch. w.
 1793, April 1. Michael Wood and Josh. Wakeham, ch. w. Thanks to Mr. Henry Delamaine for his attention to our parish and for the elegant Psalm Book he has been so good as to give for the use of our church.
 1794, April 21. Richard Hornibrook and Henry Callaghan, ch. w.
 1795, April 7. Messrs. George and William Wise, ch. w.
 April 11. £114 to be assessed on the inhabitants of the parish for the purpose of raising nineteen men for the augmentation of the Militia.
 1796, March 29. Robert Vippard and William Coley, ch. w.
 1797, April 10. William Bowman and Thomas Wise, ch. w.
 October 30. William Field, ch. w., vice Bowman, who now resides in England.
 1799, March 26. * Richard Forde and William Coun, ch. w.
 July 15. Notice to be published in the parish:—No persons licensed to sell spirits to entertain any person on Sunday before 4 p.m.; nor in the morning of any other day before sunrise, nor after an unseasonable hour in the evening. Any persons receiving wages therein, a penalty of 30s. for the first offence; and £5 for the second, and withdrawal of licence for the third.
 1800, April 14. Robert Kemp and Henry Massy, ch. w. £30 to Marsden Haddock for repairing the organ.
 1801, April 6. Robert Vincent and Samuel Bleazby, ch. w.
 Dec. 30. A new iron gate, with side piers, to be erected facing Shandon street.

- 1802, April 20. Joseph Godwin and William Jenkins, ch. w.
- 1803, April 11. John George Newsom and Richard Collett, ch. w. £20 for a trumpet stop for the organ; and the church to be whitewashed.
- The Governor and Deputy Governor of the Co. Cork have appointed 35 men to be the force raised in the parish for the better security of the United Kingdom, the average price of a volunteer having been by them fixed at 7 guineas. It appears to be necessary for this purpose to levy by assessment on the parish, the parish of Curricuppane being united, the sum of £291 13s. 4d., being four pence in the pound; and that it is the earnest desire of the meeting that such inhabitants whose circumstances will admit of it, should voluntarily contribute more than their exact assessment, whereby the poorer inhabitants may be exonerated.
- 1804, April 2. Richard Stephenson and Joseph Garde, ch. w.
- Nov. 9. It being necessary to raise twelve men for the army of reserve, being the number appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, Resolved—That the proposal of John Bass, to provide 12 men at two guineas per man. be agreed to.
1805. Warham Leader, Rector, April 16—Abraham Lane and John Gennell, ch. w. Dec. 3—Thomas Win to be ch. w., vice Lane, exempt as a Dissenter.
- 1806, April 8. John Coun and Daniel Coun, ch. w.
- 1807, March 31. Russell Deeble and John Adams, ch. w.
- October 20. That the sum of £409 10s. be assessed on the parish for raising 30 men to serve in the Militia, as appointed.
- 1808, April 19. Robert Raynes and Spencer Ford, ch. w.
- May 18. On the new valuation the parish is valued at £5,303 6s. od. Ordered that the ch. w. provide a new Communion cloth of velvet; also new covering of ditto for the reading desk, churchwardens' seat, Mayor's gallery, etc.
- 1809, April 4. Charles Gorman and Thomas Casey, ch. w.
- 1810, Feby. 2. Edmond Hatton, ch. w., vice Gorman, in ill health. April 24—John Church and William Allen, ch. w. The entrance to the church from the street to be flagged.
- 1811, April 16. Henry B. Wise and Ryder Nash, ch. w.
- 1812, March 31. Thomas Harrison and Edward Newsom, ch. w.
- 1813, April 20. Charles Sheppard and William Deeble, ch. w.

The above are all the Annals of St. Maria, now St. Anne's, Shandon, recorded by Dr. Caulfield, so far as the present writer is aware. An excellent little handbook to this church, entitled, "The Bells of Shandon," is issued by Guy and Company, the publishers of this "Journal."

Dr. Caulfield's "Notes" on what he terms "the late and modern church" of St. Maria de Shandon form the only one of his numerous contributions to our local history which the present writer has found somewhat disappointing. Not a vestige of it, he says, remains; and the very foundations of it have been dug up, of what was, previous to its demolition, one of the best built, best warmed, best ventilated, and best kept churches in the diocese of Cork; and yet he does not specify where it stood, nor when it was taken down. It was, he remarks, certainly a little out of the way, and in a very unfavourable locality; but through the zeal and energy of the late respected rector, the Rev. Dr. Neligan, it possessed all the above advantages in no ordinary way. Nor does he comment on the rather curious arrangement by which the name of St. Mary Shandon, that of the far older church, was transferred to this new one; and the old church

took on the new name of St. Ann's instead. It was, however, due probably to the relations in which their patrons, St. Mary and St. Anne, stood to each other in the flesh.

One or two circumstances in connection with this church, he observes, may be worth recording. In the oldest of the Parish Books, which was formerly in the chest in the vestry, was an entry to this effect—that permission was obtained to cut down sufficient oak from the wood opposite the church for the purpose of erecting the roof, which, when lately removed, was found to be in as good condition as when set up in 1693 or 1694. It was purchased by a cabinetmaker in Cork, who made some very beautiful articles of furniture out of it, bookcases, chairs, cabinets, etc.

About the year 1780, on opening one of the vaults under the church, the body of the Rev. Mr. McDaniel, who had been interred for some years, was found to be quite perfect. The report of this strange discovery spread quickly through the city, insomuch that a great concourse of people gathered around, and were forcing open the gates to the front to witness this strange sight. A company of infantry were posted in the guard-house opposite, while a sergeant's guard was placed in the churchyard in the vicinity of the body, to protect it if necessary. But, strange to say, the sergeant was the first to break the law, who, with a cane he had, knocked the nose off the corpse, for which he was punished and degraded. A new coffin was procured by the authorities, into which the body was replaced, and again deposited in the vault.

Some years ago the writer (Dr. Caulfield), in company with one of the clergy of the church, had the vault opened, when another opportunity presented itself of seeing the body. The coffin had disappeared, and the body lay on the floor of the vault, perfect in every respect save the nose, which was missing. It was quite black, the hair on the head as at the time of his death, the skin on the body dry and parched. It would have passed for an Egyptian mummy. The chest when tapped sounded like a drum.

On a subsequent visit, in company with an eminent Dublin physician, upon a minute examination of the vault, its construction and contents, it was found that the vault possessed certain antiseptic properties similar to those under St. Michan's Church, Dublin.

Adjoining this and a little to the south-east of the vestry was a crypt, 38 feet long by 26 feet broad. Off this were on all sides recesses full of the debris of coffins and human remains. As those were the burial places of old and well-known city families, we shall give a brief notice, with their names. At the west end was a very large chamber full of rotten wood and human remains; on a slab over the arch was this inscription: "This is the burying place of Mr. Edward Creed, of Blarney Lane, chandler, and family."

At the south side were the following sepulchral chambers: No. 1, with a flag over the arch lettered: "This is the family vault of Edmond Knapp, Esq." No. 2 was also full of coffins; branded on one of the door posts was: "Corll Hoare." No. 3 also full of coffins, and over an iron gate the name "Gibbings."

On the north side—No. 1, full of coffins, many of the plates bearing the name "Rogers," so that it must have belonged to some branch of this old Cork family. No. 2 contained two leaden coffins, sides broken open near the head, and the remains evidently disturbed; there was also an immense wooden chest, 21 feet long by 6 feet broad, and 4 feet deep, filled with human remains, rotten timber and earth. On the arch was incised: "Pearse, Esq." No. 3 was full of coffins, the skeletons visible; inside an iron gate was the inscription "Westropp and Dunscombe." In the return wall at the left of the entrance to this

crypt was a stone inscribed "the family vault of William W. Deeble." About the middle of the floor were two vaults sunk in the ground, one covered with flags, in which were several coffins of members of the Laurence family. There was no means of identifying the ownership of the second vault, all the coffin plates were removed.

In these excavations the lower coffins were some inches in water; coffin plates were scattered about in all quarters.

Dr. Caulfield ascribed the disturbance of the Pearse vault to the search for an ancestral signet ring, of which a military-looking gentleman whom he met two years previously on the Bristol boat had told him he had been making in the family vault in Cork, but failed to discover.

J. C.

Notes and Queries.

LOCAL HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, FOLK-LORE, ETC.

Contributed by J. Grove White (Col.): RICHARDSTOWN CASTLE, DONERAILE.

Robert Day: EARLY TELEGRAPH SYSTEM IN CORK HARBOUR; OLD CORK ADVERTISEMENTS.

Richardstown Castle, Doneraile.—With reference to page 210, "Journal of Cork Historical and Archæological Society" (1904), I am sorry to report that the Castle of Richardstown does not now exist. On the six-inch Ordnance Survey, sheet No. 17, surveyed in 1841, it is shown as "in ruins." Mr. John Crone, of Doneraile and the city of Limerick, purchased the townland (including the castle) of Richardstown (with other adjoining property) from Lord Lisle. It was in Mr. John Crone's possession in 1789, and still belongs to his descendants. It was situated about a mile west of Doneraile. I visited the spot to-day, September 13th, and some grassy mounds alone show where it stood. It would be interesting to trace the ownership of this property from the time that Spenser had it to the date it passed into the hands of Lord Lisle. Mr. Walter Jones in his "Doneraile and Vicinity," states that "the Castle of Richardstown was knocked down by lightning in 1865."

J. GROVE WHITE (Col.)

Early Telegraph System in Cork Harbour.—This system, if not designed by the St. George Steam Packet Company, was largely availed of by them, and consisted of four flag-staffs, one of which was placed on Rochespoint, the second on the high ground above Ardmanagh House. Passage, the third on Blackrock Castle, and the fourth on the Steamship Company's office, Penrose Quay. When one of the steamers hove in sight from London, Liverpool, Dublin, or Bristol, the flag was run up at the lighthouse, an answering signal was flown from the field on Passage hill, it was answered from Blackrock Castle, where it was seen from Penrose Quay, and the house flag, a cross of St. George on a white field, hoisted above the office, told those who were expecting their returning friends that their ship was safe in the Cove of Cork. It is possible that the old blocks of limestone in which the rings that held the shrouds were embedded may still be found on the hill-top, which commands a view of the harbour, with its river and estuaries, that will well repay the climber.

Old Cork Advertisements.—

The following extracts are from the "Cork Evening Post," by Phineas and George Bagnell, Corke, 1759—60, vol. v.

Some of the advertisements have a spice of humour and are quaintly worded. Among these we have on

July 21, 1760. "Wanted, a servant to manage a small garden. If he is a single man, well recommended, and not corpulent, he may hear of a place by applying to Doctor Creagh, of Doneraile."

"I, John Roberts, of Ballywilliam, in the Barony of Kinnilea, farmer, do certify that I have suffered much these several years past under the hands of sundry surgeons, who took upon them to cure me of a desperate Wart, that impaired me much both in health and substance, especially one Edmund FitzGerald, who undertakes the cure of said warts, took my money, and did me no manner of service. Now I acknowledge that one Margaret Twomey, of Coolmucky, near Rye's Court, in the barony of Muskery, and County of Cork, has cured me of said Wart, and several others of the like disorder in the liberties of Kinsale, and am now, thank God, both safe and sound. Witness my hand this 24th day of July, 1760. John Roberts."

"The above Margaret Twomey lives under me, and has performed several great Cures on my Horses by taking out Warts of a very large size. Given under my hand this 14th of August, 1760. John Rye."

"To be sold by Inch of Candle, at the Custom House, Kinsale, a great variety of East India Goods. The sale to begin on Monday, the 4 of February, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon."

The origin of marking hours by Time-candles is attributed to Alfred the Great, in whose life by Asserius it is recorded that before the invention of clocks Alfred caused six tapers to be used for his daily use. Each taper containing twelve pennyweights of wax, was twelve inches long and of proportionable breadth. The whole length was divided into twelve parts or inches, of which three would burn for one hour, so that each taper would be consumed in four hours; and the six tapers being lighted one after the other, lasted for 24 hours. By this primitive mode of procedure the hammer did not fall until the candle had burned down to a certain mark.

"Now raising, an additional Company, called the 'Black Munster Rangers,' belonging to the 83rd Regt.,⁽¹⁾ commanded by the Hon. John Sebright.

"All young fellows who are willing to enter into this Provincial Corps, let them lose no time in applying to Captain William Hull, or to his serjeant at The Gibraltar, in Barrack Street, who will give them all suitable encouragement, and on their arrival at the head quarters at Galway, they will be clothed, accoutred, and equipped as a Gentleman Ranger.

"Ensign Hewet is raising men for said Company at Ennis, etc., etc."

In response to this advertisement, the following appears in the issue of February 28th:—

"This morning 15 light, active young fellows, enlisted by Captain Hull to serve with the Company of Black Munster Rangers, marched from hence to their head quarters at Galway."

"Deserted the 2nd inst. from the party of Colonel Sebright's Regiment, now recruiting in Cork, James Shales, 5 feet 10 in. high, 22 years old, had a smooth face, but somewhat long and maigre, hazle eyes, a long nose: had on a cinamon thickset coat, a blue waistcoat and breeches, a brown wig,

(1) Now the Royal Irish Rifles.

and a black buck hat. He dances and plays the fiddle remarkably well—supposed to be a country dancing master. Went with him a tall, pock-marked young woman, whom he passed for his wife. She had on a chince Peten Laire, white stockings with blue clocks, a white chipped hat, and blue ribbon, and affected to speak very nice. He was enlisted the 30th of March. Whoever secures him and the Lady shall receive three guineas reward from Captain William Hull, over and above what is allowed by the Act of Parliament.

N.B.—He went off with a Cremona Fiddle belonging to said party. April 10th, 1760."

"Dec. 27, 1759. Lieutenant Colonel Morgan's Irish Light Infantry. All Gentlemen Volunteers, who are able to serve his Majesty in this Regiment of National Light Infantry, upon offer of their services to the Recruiting party's may depend upon all possible engagement, etc. God Save the King.

"N.B.—Good Irish pipers will meet with particular encouragement."

This is a most interesting postscript, as it proves beyond a doubt that the Irish bag-pipes were used as martial instruments of music by the Irish Volunteers of George the Second, as they are also depicted in Derrick's 'Image of Ireland,' plate ii., temp. Elizabeth.

August 11, 1760. "Whereas, subscriptions are now going on in the City to erect an equestrian Statue of his present Majesty—The Mayor, Sheriffs, and Thomas Newenham, Esqr., will receive subscriptions.

"N.B.—The Statue is made and now completely finished by Mr. Van Nost, and may be seen at the Cellars of Messrs. Lawton and Carleton."

This was the leaden statue of King George II. which was in 1762 erected on Tuckey's bridge. It was afterwards removed to the southern extremity of the Grand Parade, where it remained a familiar object until March, 1862, when, on a boisterous night, it fell, and was shortly afterwards removed. Previous to 1780, the western side of the Parade was Tuckey's Quay, and was connected with George's Street by Tuckey's bridge. The eastern side was the Mall. Windele gives the name of the sculptor of this statue as Van Oss, not as above, who was a Dutchman. Two of these statues were cast by him, one for Cork, the other for Dublin, where it may still be seen at the east side of Stephen's Green.

"Voster. Saturday, May 10, 1760, died at his house in Brown Street, after a few days' illness, Mr. Daniel Voster, regretted by the publick as well as by his particular acquaintance, while alive he enjoyed their esteem and friendship, having been eminently distinguished for his many good qualities and extensive knowledge, particularly in the several branches of mathematicks, and having discharged the duties of his station with great complacency and integrity."

"May 22, 1760. Notice is hereby given that the widow Voster, in Brown Street, having determined to quit the business followed by her late husband, will sell several curious instruments for the use of Mariners, Surveyors, etc. George FitzGerald, who assisted Mr. Voster in his school for the last 8 years, will continue to teach writing, arithmetick, etc., according to the method first introduced into this Kingdom by the late Mr. Elias Voster."

The above Daniel Voster was son of Elias, author of a work on arithmetic published in Cork in the early part of the eighteenth century. He kept a respectable and excellent school in the city for many years, which, from the above, appears to have been continued by his son, and afterwards by his assistant, George FitzGerald.

ROBERT DAY.

This book should be returned to
the Library on or before the last date
stamped below.

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